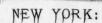
METHODIST

QUARIERLY

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APRIL, 1882.

D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., Editor.

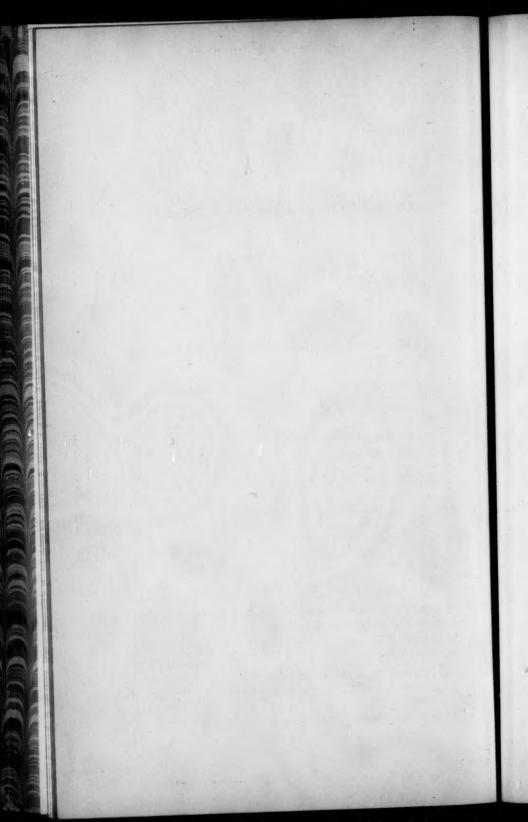


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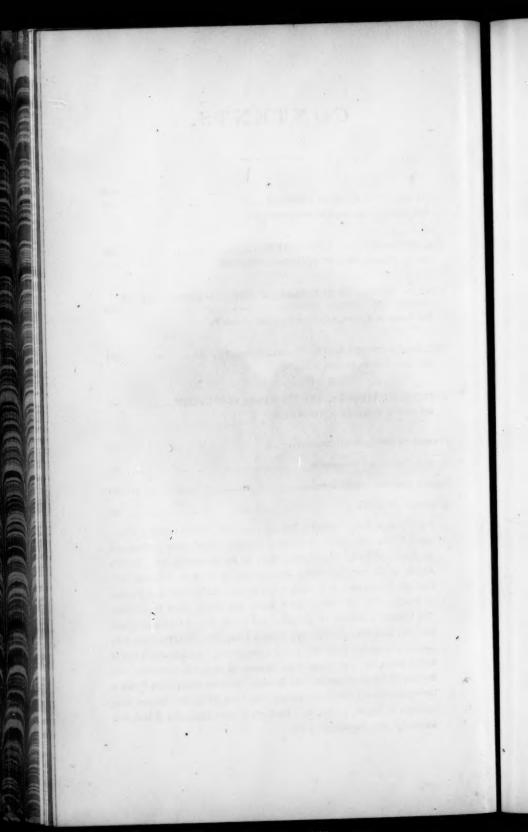
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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1882.

ART. I.—UTAH AND THE MORMON PROBLEM.

Mormonism Unveiled; or, The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee. By W. W. BISHOF. Saint Louis, Mo.: Bryan, Brand & Co. 1877.

The Fate of Madame La Tour: A Story of Great Salt Lake. By Mrs. A. G. PADDOCK. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1881.

The Utah Review. Rev. Theoremilus B. Hilton, A.M., Editor. Salt Lake City, August, 1881.

The Territory of Utah seems likely to attract a more than ordinary amount of attention in the near future. And this not on account of intrinsic importance alone, but because the body politic, like other bodies, is sensitive to the existence of a sore spot; and, whether anxious or not to take pride in the exhibition of a diseased member, still feels keen interest in a subject that cannot be touched without pain nor let alone without danger. Hesitation and delay may long continue, but reluctance at last yields to necessity, and canker and gangrene finally gain the sufferer's attention. Then follows the earnest search for efficient remedies and speedy relief.

As the scene of fierce conflict between a transplanted Oriental barbarism and Christian civilization, and the ground on which is to be wrought out one of our most difficult and troublesome problems, this region of mountain and desert becomes the center of an absorbing interest to our whole country.

THE TERRITORY AND ITS RESOURCES.

Utah owes its name to one of the native Indian tribes, the Yutahs, ("dwellers in the mountains,") who, with kindred FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXIV.—14

families, the Utes, Pi-utes, and others, from time immemorial held possession of its plains and rocky fastnesses until the advent of the white man less than half a century ago. Originally the Territory embraced a much larger region than now: it extended east and west from the Rockies to the Sierras, and north and south almost indefinitely, until, in process of time and through the rapid development of mineral resources, the "Silver State" was carved out bodily from the western half. Colorado took something from the eastern border, Wyoming absorbed a square corner in the north-east, while, on the north and south, Idaho and Arizona assisted in circumscribing the Territory to very reasonable limits. It now occupies five degrees each of north latitude and west longitude, lying between parallels 37 and 42, and meridians 109 and 114, west of the Missouri River 1,000 miles, east of the Pacific Ocean 800, Its general length from north to south is 350 miles, its breadth east and west 260 miles. With an area of 84,476 square miles. it compares, as to size, very favorably with adjacent States and Territories. Lying in the very midst of our great western domain, and surrounded by regions of untold mineral and other wealth. Utah promises to become more and more a center of the greatest business activity.

Extending north and south through almost the entire length of the Territory, like a huge spine, is the Wahsatch range of mountains, some of whose summits rise 13,000 feet above the sea-level, and are clad with perpetual snows. The precipitous sides of these bold heights are here and there furrowed and broken by deep canons and rugged passes, down which rush impetuous torrents pouring their ever-cold waters on the plains below. Eastward and westward of this central chain extend rugged spurs, among which are found level basins and narrow valleys of great natural fertility, whose meadows furnish abundance of succulent food for domestic animals, or under ordinary tillage can be made to yield man a comfortable subsistence.

This range of mountains also divides the Territory into two distinct sections, whose waters, though springing from the same heights, find destinations extremely different. On the east the Green and Grand Rivers, with their numerous tributaries, combine in the Colorado, which, after a tortuous course of 500 miles down a narrow cañon, whose vertical and almost

unbroken walls are 1,200 feet or more in depth, and through shifting sands for many miles in its lower extent, at last finds outlet in the Gulf of California. In the extreme south-west of the Territory the Wahsatch Mountains sweep around in an immense semicircle toward the Sierra Nevadas, forming the great interior basin of America, in elevation from 4,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea-level, and in its vast area including nearly all of Nevada and the western half of Utah. Within this basin, and in the north-western corner of the Territory, is Great Salt Lake, 75 miles in length, 30 in width, and 4,200 feet above the sea. Its waters sink; or, rather, replenished perpetually by the Bear and Jordan Rivers and other streams, they are ever evaporating and leaving behind their heavy deposits of salt. In those transparent waters, so buoyant that the human body will not sink in them, there exists in solution 22 per cent. of this valuable mineral, withal making enough brine to preserve the pork of the nation. Neither fish nor vegetable can live in those saline depths, though both abound in the tributary mountain streams. Into this lake are for the most part finally gathered the streams of the western section of Utah, almost the only exception being the Sevier River far toward the south. and the waters of this sluggish stream finally sink in a lake of the same name.

To the southward of this American Dead Sea, some 35 miles, lies the beautiful Utah Lake, a body of fresh water 35 miles in length, finding outlet into Great Salt Lake through the Jordan River. Skirting the eastern border of the last-named lake, at the base of the Wahsatch range, and extending southward considerably beyond Utah Lake, is the most beautiful section of the whole Territory. It varies in width from one mile to thirty or more along the lakes, appearing as a broad expanse of meadows and green fields, with here and there orchards and thriving villages, but in places beside the Jordan narrowing down to a fruitful vale between overshadowing hills. These lands are exceedingly productive; all the ordinary grains, fruits, and vegetables are grown in abundance, albeit irrigation is in places required to perfect these harvests.

Along the Rio Virgin, in the extreme south, there is also a belt of fertile soil, where, in addition to the products named above, considerable quantities of cotton and sugar cane are produced. Thus it appears that in this so-called "desert" about 150,000 acres of land have been already brought under successful cultivation.

But aside from the fertile sections named the greater part of the land would seem to be too barren for agricultural purposes. Sand, alkali, sage-brush, and cactus, amid burned and barren rocks, abound in the west and south, and, by the absence of any available means of irrigation, forbid all hope of future productiveness. On the mountains and rugged slopes, however, may be found a scanty growth of "bunch grass" and other herbage, contributing somewhat to the sustenance of mountain sheep and deer, or the ordinary live-stock turned loose to graze.

Timber for building purposes is not very abundant, nor yet very accessible. Along the lower streams grow the willow. cotton-wood, and alder in limited quantities, with here and there groves of ash and aspen. On the uplands and mountain sides some stunted cedars struggle for existence, while higher up, in gulches and cañons, are to be found considerable numbers of spruce and other coniferous trees. Some of this timber can be converted into lumber of average quality, but the greater part serves as material for log houses, fencing, and But stone fit for building purposes is abundant and within easy reach. Fine granite is quarried in Cottonwood Cañon, a score or so of miles south-east of Salt Lake City: beds of excellent marble, of limestone, also, and of clay suitable for brick-making, have been laid open in several places. Adobes (large sun-dried bricks) are much used in common buildings, and serve the purpose quite well. Coal deposits were discovered as early as 1863 by General Connor, and have since been found to exist in many parts of the Territory. These supply an abundance of excellent fuel at comparatively small cost.

Thus it will appear that, with a favorable climate, fruitful soil in large sections, and no great dearth of the other ordinary resources of civilized life, Utah is capable of giving comfortable support to quite a large population. But, while agricultural and other resources seem ample for this purpose, the great wealth of the Territory lies in its vast mineral deposits. In this regard the rank of Utah should not be placed lower

than third among all the States and Territories. The variety of these deposits is great, and the quantity of each almost inexhaustible. Reference has already been made to the abundance of salt and coal. Lead and copper ores in large bodies are found in the west; iron exists in immense quantities in the south-west, and cheaper transportation only is needed to render these mines very valuable; sulphur is plentiful; bismuth and cinnabar are found in places; alum, borax, and gypsum exist in considerable quantities in various sections of the Territory, while in the southern districts there are said to be immense beds of paraffine. But especially valuable are the mines of gold and silver. The existence of these precious metals was known in an early day, and the discovery and location of certain mines was made in 1862-63 by General E. B. Connor, then in command at Fort Douglass, near Salt Lake City. The real development of these resources, however, did not begin till 1870. Since then it has steadily advanced, until now there are to be found all over the Territory mines that yield good returns in bullion, both of gold and silver. These mines are about 1,000 in number, and more than 50 mining districts have already been organized. Up to 1875 they had yielded, of gold \$1,547,292, and of silver \$15,925,485. Since then the annual product of these metals has ranged from six to ten millions of dollars, and year by year shows a marked increase. Discoveries of new and valuable mines are being constantly made, and in the development of these resources Utah has promise of untold future wealth.

POPULATION AND HISTORY.

In the census returns of 1880 the population of Utah is put down at 143,906, showing an increase of 57,120 in ten years. Since the last census was taken there has been a further increase of 6,000 or more, making the present population about 150,000. Of this number there are some 1,200 Indians, 500 Chinese, and 150 colored people. Divided on a religious basis, about 135,000 of these people are Mormons, and the balance are indiscriminately known as "Gentiles." Neighboring States and Territories have also a Mormon population of some 70,000, enough to hold the "balance of power" in any close election, and this fact must be taken into account, as of

course it will be by the politicians, as an important element in the problem under discussion.

But before proceeding to examine in detail the history of the Utah "saints," and the grave questions whose rise they have occasioned, attention must be called to the several vol-

umes designated at the beginning of this article.

First among these stands the "Life and Confessions of John D. Lee," an ordinary 8vo volume of 390 pages, published by Bryan, Brand & Co., Saint Louis, Mo., in 1877. A considerable part of the book is an autobiography written by Lee while in prison, awaiting execution for participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. As such, it gives an inside view of Mormon history and institutions from 1838, the date of his conversion to that peculiar faith, down to within a short period of his death, March, 1877. Lee appears to have been a sincere, misguided fanatic, for thirty years and more a warm devotee of the Mormon Church, whose eves were only too late opened to perceive some of its enormities. Doubtless he gives a tolerably correct history of the rise and progress of the Mormon faith, and unveils some of its mysteries. The remainder of the volume consists of Lee's written confession of his participation in the Mountain Meadows massacre, September 16, 1857, in which, with fifty-seven companions of like faith and fanaticism, he aided in the cold-blooded slaughter of one hundred and twenty defenseless emigrants, Captain Fancher's train, who had surrendered themselves to the promised protection of these miscreants! Following that is an account of the arrest, trial, conviction, and execution of John D. Lee, furnished by W. W. Bishop, Esq., of Pioche, Nevada, who served as Lee's confidential attorney, and unto whom were committed the "Life and Confessions" for publication. Mr. Bishop has done his work well: he has made a valuable contribution to the literature of this Mormon problem; his book is possessed of more than passing interest, and deserves careful reading by every intelligent man Quotations relating to vital points will be made in America. therefrom in the further progress of this article.

"The Fate of Madame La Tour: A Story of Great Salt Lake," by Mrs. A. G. Paddock, is a handsome 16mo volume of 352 pages, published by Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York, 1881. It is a fresh, stirring book, in which facts are skillfully woven

together in a story "stranger than fiction," to the truth of which there are many living witnesses, both in Utah and out, In this thrilling tale of family history one gets something like a clear conception of the dreadful system of tyranny, avarice. lust, and revenge, carried on by Brigham Young and the Mormon priesthood, from that day in the early spring of 1847, when, at the head of a band of outlaws and fanatics, the "prophet" stood on the western shores of the Missouri River, and breathed curses and vengeance upon the people of the States left behind. down to that other day, in August, 1877, when, unwhipped of justice, "he died in his bed," and was buried with highest funeral honors by his deluded followers. Polygamy, with its combination of woes and broken hearts: "blood atonement" and its hapless victims; ostracism and violence for outsiders, with treason toward the Government of the United Statesthese are things portrayed with a master hand in this little volume. Mrs. Paddock has herself lived for years in Salt Lake City, and filled a prominent place among those "elect ladies" who have so often raised their protest against the crimes of that religious system by which they are surrounded. Not the least valuable part of her book is the "Appendix," giving an account of the mining and educational interests of the Territory, besides a multitude of other matters that ought to be generally known. To this the writer hereof is greatly indebted for some of the foregoing facts and figures.

Along with a former volume by the same author, "In the Toils," with "Tell it All," by Mrs. Stenhouse, and with Stenhouse's "Rocky Mountain Saints," "The Fate of Madame La Tour" must take its place as one of those providential books, which, like "Uncle Tom's Cabin," read by the multitude, help

a nation in the solution of a great question.

Third in our list stands "The Utah Review," a 64-page, 8vo monthly, edited by Rev. Theophilus B. Hilton, A.M., President of our incipient Utah University, and published by H. P. Palmerston & Co., Salt Lake City. Though the issue for August, 1881, is but the second number of Vol. I., the magazine gives early evidence of both skillful editorial management and permanent literary value. With its excellent list of able writers as contributors, and its impartial and fearless presentation of truth and bold exposure of Mormon practices, it cannot

fail to shed invaluable light on dark places both in Utah and elsewhere. Like all reformatory agencies now at work for the redemption of that unfortunate Territory from the curse of ignorance and superstition, it deserves the hearty encouragement and support of the outside "Gentile" world. As bearing especially on the question under consideration, particular attention must be called to Articles IV and V of the number, named, "The Mysteries of the Endowment House," and "Resolutions on Mormonism." Both are deserving of careful study, the former as an unvarnished account of the revolting rites and dreadful oaths by which the "Saints" are introduced to Mormon mysteries, and the latter as a bold expression of opinion on the part of the Methodist ministry of Utah regard-

ing the system whose fruits they constantly behold.

Something of Mormon history, derived from these several volumes and from other sources, may, perhaps, here be introduced with profit. It should first be premised that herein there is not the most perfect agreement among historians; but this detracts little from the interest of the matter itself. According to one account, Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon faith, was a prophet first called of God at Manchester, Ontario County, N. Y., in 1820, unto whom various revelations were made by means of angels at sundry times thereafter, setting forth that all the religious sects and denominations were utterly at fault, that a new dispensation was to be inaugurated by him, and that he was commissioned to make a translation of certain sacred records—the Book of Mormon from a bundle of golden plates, written over with ancient hieroglyphics and hidden in a stone chest on a hill-side in his neighborhood. This translation he is said to have made, and the resultant volume was published in 1830. It is also claimed that the curious golden plates were seen by some eleven witnesses, who gave certificates to that effect, and that their genuineness having been thus established, the plates were returned to the care of an angel, who doubtless still has them in possession, as no one has since beheld them. Then followed the organization of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints" in Seneca County, N. Y., April 6, 1830, the forming of settlements in Ohio and in Jackson County, Mo., in 1831, the building and dedication of a temple at Kirtland, O., in

1836, the persecution and driving out of the "saints" by cruel mobs both from Ohio and Missouri in the years 1838–39, the founding of Nauvoo in Illinois, the building of another temple, the renewed persecution, the slaughter of Joseph Smith in Carthage jail, and the final dispersion of the "saints" in 1846 from the city they had built—these are items of early history as given by Mormon writers. (See Mormon "Catechism for Children," pp. 73–79.) John D. Lee, to the day of his death an ardent admirer of Smith and his doctrines, had firm faith in the correctness of this account, and takes particular pains to proclaim the moral integrity and lofty character of the founder of Mormonism, though heartily repudiating the deeds of Brigham Young, his unworthy successor. ("Life of John D. Lee," pp. 75 and 162.)

But take another account. It is an extract from a speech by Judge Cradlebaugh before the U. S. Congress in 1863, and furnished by Mr. Bishop in his "Introduction to the Life of

Lee." Judge C. says:

Mormonism is in part a conglomeration of illy cemented creeds from other religions, and in part founded upon the eccentric production of one Spaulding, who, having failed as a preacher and shopkeeper, undertook to write a historic novel. He had a smattering of biblical knowledge, and chose for his subject the "history of the lost tribes of Israel." The whole was supposed to be communicated by the Indians, and the last of the series was named Mormon, representing that he had buried the book. It was a dull, tedious interminable volume, marked by ignorance and folly. The book was so flat, stupid, and insipid, that no publisher could be induced to bring it before the world. Poor Spaulding at length went to his grave, and the manuscript remained a neglected roll in the possession of his widow.

Then arose Joe Smith, more ready to live by his wits than by the labor of his hands. Smith had, early in life, manifested a turn for pious frauds. He had figured in several wrestling matches with the devil, and had been conspicuous in giving in eventful experiences in religion at certain revivals. He announced that he had dug up the Book of Mormon, which taught the true religion; this was none other than poor Spaulding's manuscript which he had purloined from the widow. In his hands the manuscript became the basis of Mormonism. Smith became a prophet; the founder of a religious sect; the president of a swindling bank; the builder of the city of Nauvoo and mayor of the city; general of the "armies of Israel;" candidate for President of the United States, and finally a martyr, as the "saints" chose to call him. But the truth is that his villainies,

together with the villainies of his followers, brought down upon him the just vengeance of the people of Illinois and Missouri, and his career was brought to an end by his being shot while confined in jail at Carthage. It was unfortunate that such was his end, for his followers raised the old cry of martyrdom and persecution, and, as always, "the blood of the martyr was the seed of the Church."

As to the disparity of these perhaps ex parte accounts of the rise of Mormonism little need here be said; but, judged by its fruits in the light of its own history, and from the testimony of some of its devotees—judged also by its literature and pretended revelations—there can remain no doubt that it has been left for the nineteenth century and the most Christian of nations to develop one of the most monstrous systems of imposture ever born of Satanic cunning, or accepted by credulous man. Take, for instance, the statements of Lee himself, as he gives some account of matters in Missouri and at Nauvoo prior to and after the death of Smith. Robbery, murder and more venial offenses committed by the "saints" were things confessedly common. Says Lee, on page 72:

The Mormons made an attack on Gallatin one night, and carried off much plunder. I was not there with them, but I talked often with those that were, and learned all the facts about it. The town was burned down, and everything of value, including the goods in two stores, was carried off by the Mormons. I often escaped being present with the troops on their thieving expeditions by loaning my horses and arms to others who liked that kind of work better than I did. . . Men stole simply for the love of stealing. Such inexcusable acts of lawlessness had the effect to arouse every Gentile in the three counties of Caldwell, Carroll, and Daviess, as well as to bring swarms of armed Gentiles from other localities.

On pages 90-91 Lee also bewails the dishonesty of the people among whom his lot had fallen, and again, on page 168, takes occasion to denounce the "cattle-stealing" practiced by the "saints." He moreover furnishes a detailed account of several murders committed in and about Nauvoo by sanction of the Church authorities and through their agents, (pp. 157-160,) from which it clearly appears that this was a common method of disposing of persons obnoxious to the "saints," or whose property was a desideratum for sacred (?) uses, and could not otherwise be obtained. True, Lee does not lay the respon-

sibility for these crimes upon Joseph Smith, or the doctrines of his Church; he endeavors to exculpate both; but at the same time makes it manifest, in the simplicity of his narrative, that these things were done under full cognizance of the Church authorities, by subordinates organized under Church direction, receiving the full sanction of Brigham Young, Smith's successor, and used for the benefit of the "Kingdom" by those who assumed its leadership. Allowing, as we must, that there were then, as ever since, many honest and sincere, but misguided, people drawn into this gigantic delusion, who were indeed disposed to a religious life, and would not soil their hands with theft or murder; still, no other safe conclusion can be reached than that which places them in a hopeless minority, and brands the system into whose mazes they had been drawn as one of monstrous infamy and ill-concealed crime.

Moreover, the questionable practices in which Smith and his early coadjutors, together with Lee himself, confessedly indulged, the profanity, petty deceits, trickery, and escapades in their attempts to practice "celestial marriage," seem utterly discreditable to any set of religious teachers, especially those who lay claim to such superior sanctity and direct communion with God. The perusal of chapter xiv of John D. Lee's life, and chapter v of Mrs. Paddock's book, will serve to convince any impartial reader as to the validity of this position. If reliable history is to be at all credited, and if the statements of living witnesses of known integrity are of any value, it cannot seem at all strange that "persecution" should have risen against the Nauvoo "saints," and that their unfortunate neighbors should have aided their exit from the commonwealth of Some further reference to history will scarcely serve to dissipate this conclusion.

Every great movement has its literature, and this in most cases furnishes a basis for a correct judgment of its intrinsic character. The literature of Mormonism, taken as an entirety, from the Book of Mormon down to the latest issue of the "Deseret News," may be candidly pronounced almost beneath criticism, either on account of intrinsic weakness or a manifest perversion of truth. In the whole range of English literature there can scarce be found a more dreary, insipid, and tiresome

volume than the book which Mormonism puts on a par with the sacred Scriptures. Its bald plagiarism and persistent nonsense consign it to a place far beneath the most absurd of the ancient Apocryphal books. Take the catalogue of other Mormon publications; examine "Doctrines and Covenants," by Joseph Smith; "The Voice of Warning," by Parley P. Pratt; "Catechism for Children," by John Jaques; "The Women of the Bible," "The Pearl of Great Price," and others in the same line, and the conclusion is irresistible that there must be a fearful dearth of literary provender to occasion any feeding on such unpalatable material. It is inconceivable that any but the most ignorant could relish such mental aliment; and, indeed, it is matter of observation that the masses of the Mormon people, confined as they are to such literature, read almost nothing at all, nor do they generally have any other than an indistinct and greatly distorted conception of the real progress of events in the outside world. Their books are for the most part filled with perversions of history and Scripture, and their newspapers with scurrilous misrepresentations of all Christendom, and loud denunciation of those who do not favor their peculiar system. In saying this the writer speaks advisedly, having made a somewhat extended examination of these matters.

Moreover, the prophecies and revelations of Joseph Smith, pretentious as they are, when compared with those lofty flights of prophetic vision recorded in the recognized Word of God, bespeak an origin in the diseased fancies of an arrant impostor, and at once proclaim themselves, not only unworthy of the Deity, but beneath the lowest grades of human genius.

And here it may be asked: How is it possible that such a movement should have gained such success unless, indeed, it were inspired of God? The answer is ready: Mere success does not itself prove a divine origin. Some of the most shameless systems of sin and corruption have had marvelous success. Both in creed and progress Mormonism finds a strong parallel in the religion of Mohammed. Human ignorance and folly are its foundations and prolific soil; promises of an earthly inheritance, ease and riches, and the gratification of a sensuous nature, are its alluring hopes; and from the unenlightened and disaffected of Christian denominations, and the lawless and fanatical in general, it draws its recruits. It is

noticeable that Mormonism has never made any marked effort for the conversion of the heathen nations; it has been content to take all the refuse of the so-called "Christian sects," and, like all such movements, has fed largely on distractions caused among the weak-minded of other faiths. Were it not for ignorance, lust, and deceit, the whole system would fall in a day.

But leaving for the present this phase of the question, let us a little further pursue the thread of history. Dispersed from Nauvoo and scattered along the streams of Iowa in the winter of 1846, the "saints" next sought a refuge far beyond the confines of modern civilization. Brigham Young and a vanguard of adventurers set out for the Far West in the spring of 1847, and on the 24th day of July reached the beautiful valley lying at the western base of the Wahsatch Mountains in Utah, and at once laid the foundations of Great Salt Lake City-the future Zion of the "saints." Accordingly, all that vast territory lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean was claimed as the Mormon "inheritance from the Lord," and "by the right of discovery," although thousands of emigrants had passed through it on their way to Oregon as early as 1841-42, and the region had been explored by Colonel Fremont in 1843. In 1848 began to roll in the tide of Mormon immigration which has continued with little interruption for more than thirty years. March 18, 1849, the "saints" assembled in convention and solemnly organized "The Free and Independent State of Deseret," whose boundaries embraced California, Nevada, and several contiguous Territories, which "State" they have ever since been anxious to have admitted into the Union. Congress, however, in 1850, organized the "Territory of Utah," reserving to itself the right to diminish its dimensions, which has since been several times done, but so far regarded the claims of "President" Young as to appoint him governor. This office he held in name till 1858, but in fact till the day of his death, as far as governing the Territory was concerned. Meantime immigration kept pouring in. Mormon elders and agents were sent in great numbers to the several States and to Canada, and as well to European nations. Their converts were summoned to gather to "Zion," the land of rest, safety, prosperity, and peace; the highest blessings were promised those who would go; the deepest curses and

blackest woes denounced on the nations left behind. So multitudes of sincere but misguided people, the dupes of a cunning priesthood, left their homes and endured incredible hardships to reach Utah, only to discover too late that they had been led

by vain hopes.

So numerous did this population become in ten years that when, in 1857, the United States Government proposed to extend its judicial power over the Territory, the federal judge was resisted and driven out with violence; other officers were also expelled, and insurrection was raised in Utah. Young was superseded as governor by Alfred Cumming, and an army was sent to quell the rebellion. In September of that year occurred the Mountain Meadows Massacre, undoubtedly instigated by the Mormon leaders. The army was checked in its advance, its supply-trains were cut off, nor was peace restored till late in 1858, when a sort of compromise was effected; the United States troops were permitted to enter Salt Lake City, Fort Douglass was established on the heights above it, and representatives of the government were accorded a show of respect. Yet the Federal judges found themselves powerless to bring any Mormon offender to justice; as, from the beginning, persons obnoxious to the Church were dealt with by "the Danites" and their property confiscated; polygamy was enjoined upon all, and forced upon the unwilling by threats of excommunication; scores of victims fell by the hands of Young's "Destroying Angels," while their murderers were shielded and honored by the Church. Governor J. W. Dawson, appointed in 1860, was insulted, beaten, and abused, and driven from the Territory by order of Brigham Young; in 1866, Dr. J. K. Robinson, a Christian gentleman, was by night decoyed from his home and brutally murdered within a few yards of his own door by agents of the Church; meantime minor outrages were being all the while visited upon obnoxious "Gentiles" and "apostates" who could not escape from the Territory; and, indeed, till 1870 neither of these classes was at all safe in Utah. There can be given no better portraiture of the state of affairs during those long years of crime and tyranny than that found in a petition to the United States Congress in 1872, presented by some of the noble ladies of Utah, at a time when it seemed likely that Brigham Young

would at last prevail in his long-cherished plan of securing the admission of the "State of Deseret" into the American Union. The petitioners say:

For more than twenty years, Utah, though a Territory of the United States, and, as such, nominally under the jurisdiction of Congress, has been in reality governed altogether by the Mormon priesthood. Let history tell the nature of their rule!

No more bloody despotism has disgraced the earth in modern times. Brigham Young, in the self-appointed character of God's vicegerent, has held the lives, liberty, and property of the people in his hands. Disobedience to him has been accounted a crime not to be atoned for except by blood. Nothing that the people possessed could be called their own except by his will. Not only were they required to pay into the Church treasury one tenth of all their property, but they were liable at any time to be ordered to give up their homes to the Prophet, and this order none dared disobey. Many of your petitioners have been robbed in this way in years past. . . . But these robberies are a little thing compared with other enormities perpetrated by the despotic rulers of this people in the name of religion. During all the years that their will has been law in Utah, no man's life, no woman's honor, has been safe, if either stood in their way. Never in this world will the history of their dark and bloody deeds be fully written; for the victims and witnesses of many a tragedy are hidden together in the grave.*

But within ten years past there has been some change for the better. In 1870 the great transcontinental railway entered the dominions of the "prophet;" the mines were opened, and a tide of "Gentile" population began to pour in; religious and educational enterprises were inaugurated by Christian denominations, and the Mormon leaders were compelled to give up some of their favorite methods of government. The Poland Bill was passed by Congress in 1874, making it possible to sustain the Federal courts, and to some extent secure the ends of justice. There have been a few convictions for notorious crimes such as that of John D. Lee, already mentioned, and of Reynolds and Miles for polygamy in 1877-79, and some fear has been inspired thereby in other criminals. The lives and property of "Gentiles" and "Apostates" are comparatively safe throughout the territory.

But, after all, there has simply been an enforced change of methods, and none at all of principles in the Mormon system.

[&]quot; " Madame La Tour," pp. 337-38.

Its devotees are as completely as ever subservient to the priesthood; elections are a farce; female suffrage has been in vogue since 1870, and hundreds of unnaturalized foreigners regularly vote as the Church directs; term after term Geo. Q. Cannon. himself a known polygamist, and not an American citizen, is re-elected Delegate to Congress. The Legislature consists of thirty-nine Mormon high-priests, thirty-six of whom are in polygamy, and whose tenure of office seems life-long; aside from the Governor, Secretary, and three judges appointed by the President of the United States, all the territorial officers are Mormons, and these, with the Legislature, do all in their power to extend the Mormon system and discourage all others. Juries are uniformly "packed," and it is next to impossible to convict any Mormon of crime, no matter how clear may be the evidence of guilt. Of these things there is not wanting abundance of documentary proof, and herewith is submitted (in part) the testimony of the Methodist Episcopal Mission Conference of Utah, held at Ogden, July 9, 1881. It is worthy of most careful consideration as a clear and truthful statement of the present status and aims of Mormonism. Many pages to the same effect could be furnished from other reliable sources:

The rapid growth of Mormonism in Utah is alarming. It is steadily increasing, mainly through immigration. A large number of missionaries have been sent this year to different parts of the world to preach the doctrine of Mormonism. The Book of Mormon is not only printed in English, but in Welsh, Polynesian, Italian, Danish, French, and German. Neither the death of Brigham Young, the building of railways, the increase of Gentile population, nor the Supreme Court, has effected the destruction or checked polygamy and kindred crimes under Mormon control. Mormonism absolutely controls Utah. Nearly all territorial offices are held by polygamists. Mormonism holds the balance of power in Idaho and Arizona, and menaces Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Montana. . . . The leaders of Mormonism, the great apostles of lust, are preaching the doctrine of polygamy throughout the Territory with renewed vigor. Mormonism is hostile to our institutions and disloyal to our government, declaring, by its former President, Brigham Young, that the politico-ecclesiastical government of the Mormon Church "circumscribes the governments of this world;" and again declaring, by the chief of its twelve apostles, "that all other governments are unauthorized and illegal, while any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and officers of their own appointing, are in direct rebellion against the

kingdom of God." Mormonism nullifies the laws of the land, controls elections, and protects its followers in the commission of the most heinous crimes. Mormonism creates saints and prophets out of thieves and murderers; and clothes with a halo of sanctity perjury and deeds of villainy.*

There might also be given many pages of authentic history and incidents in support of these damaging statements; but the reader is referred to the several volumes named in this article, and to others within easy reach, for full proof of the assertion. Meantime some attention must be given to another phase of the subject, and to certain possible remedies for the evils complained of.

CREEDS AND INSTITUTIONS.

Mormon'sm has its creeds, written and unwritten, and these demand some, though brief, consideration. That there may be no just charge of an ex parte statement, the "Articles of Faith," as drawn up by "Joseph the Seer," are herewith given:

We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression. We believe that, through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel. We believe that these ordinances are: First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. We believe that a man must be called of God by prophecy, and by laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz.: Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelists, etc. We believe in the gifts of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God. We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaic glory. We claim the privilege

* "Utah Review," page 58.

of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, We believe all things, we hope all things, we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things. Joseph Smith.*

These go for what they are worth; but they manifestly omit several of the cardinal principles of Mormonism—foundation-stones, deprived of which the system must soon cease to be what it is. Gathered from sermons, teachings, and practices, they seem to be these:

1. Obedience to the Priesthood.—This is an absolute requirement, and extends to all interests, temporal as well as spiritual. Religious and political freedom is a thing unknown in the Mormon Church; its 200,000 adherents are under oath not only to vote, but to commit any crime under direction of the holy (?) priesthood. So extensive are the ramifications of this order, so complete is its espionage, and so absolute its sway, that its dupes dare not disobey, or do so only in fear of the deepest damnation. (See the "Endowment Oaths," "Utah Rev.," p. 55, and "Madame La Tour," p. 335.

2. Treason to the Government.—From the first, Mormon children and converts have been taught to despise and reject the authority of the United States Government. It has ever been the purpose of the Mormon leaders to set up an "earthly kingdom," and establish within our territories an independent sovereignty. Thus far it has been through lack of power, and not of will, that the purpose has not been accomplished. One needs not to be long in any Mormon community, listen to their sermons and conversation, or examine their history, to become convinced of this. (See "John D. Lee," pp. 160, 161.)

3. "Blood Atonement."—In other words, the deliberate murder of all obnoxious persons under pretense of saving their souls! This doctrine was for years taught by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Geo. Q. Cannon, and others, and practiced

^{*&}quot;Times and Seasons," vol. iii, p. 709.

for nearly twenty years. Were it possible, the Mormon leaders would rid Utah of every "Gentile" and "apostate" within a month by this or other similar means. For the theory and practice of this doctrine reference is made to John D. Lee, pp. 16–18, and 278–287; and "Madame La Tour," p. 305.

4. Polygamy, or "Celestial Marriage."—Carried on secretly at Nauvoo, but publicly proclaimed in 1852, and steadily practiced ever since. It is admitted to be an essential of the Mormon creed, and is persistently taught and practiced in open defiance of United States law. Though it is claimed that only a small per centage of the people are actually in "plurality," yet the number is greatly increasing each year, and the entire body of good (?) Mormons uphold the practice. ("Madame La Tour," p. 324.)

REMEDIES.

If these things be true—and any amount of reliable testimony can be had on that point—there arises the momentous question: "What is to be done about it?"

No doubt many well-meaning people would recommend "letting alone" as the readiest solution of the difficulty; doubtless that would be eminently satisfactory to the Mormon leaders; but unfortunately for the nation it is one of those chronic and troublesome cases which stubbornly refuse to be "let alone." It must be met sooner or later, and perhaps the sooner the better. True, the difficulty and delicacy of the case are greatly increased by the fact that in some sense it is a religious question, and as such impinges closely on the matter of religious liberty and rights of conscience, always, and under few limitations, guaranteed by the Constitution. But the essential doctrines-the unwritten creed of Mormonism-are so repulsive to well-ordered human society, and so inimical to the very existence of national life, as to lie far beyond the bounds of religious toleration, and by revolting practice to place themselves within the category of monstrous crimes against the state, only to be dealt with by condign punishment. With no disposition to persecute any form of religious belief as such, still the decency of the nation demands that the vile practices of this abnormal system should cease, and its crimes be punished. But the curative process may be very slow; however, some possible remedies are suggested for consideration.

1. The Enlightenment of Public Sentiment.—Why is it that the "Mormon Question" has thus far received so little serious attention, or been almost ignored? Simply because the American people have not been brought face to face with the facts, and have considered the matter as too remote for anxious attention. That great agency in forming popular sentiment, the secular press, has, for the most part, been either indifferent, contemptuous, or apologetic, and thus served to minify the importance of a subject which it has little understood. So for years our country has been disgraced by a rapidly growing polygamous sect in one of its fairest Territories, by a polygamous delegate in Congress, and by a polygamous power able by some means to largely prevent repressive legislation.

By pulpit and press, and every other legitimate means, public sentiment needs to be enlightened, quickened, and aroused on this grave subject; then Congress will feel the pressure, and Presidents and statesmen, loyal citizens and suffering women, will no longer plead in vain for vigorous measures of relief. As tending to the attainment of this object must be hailed with satisfaction the gathering protests of various religious bodies, and the appointment of able commissions to promote this desirable end. The recent action of the New York East Conference, in this line, is a notable instance of the inauguration of this movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Others are also moving, and this is a hopeful indication of public awakening.

2. Congressional Action.—Doubtless, our eminent jurists could suggest many ways in which this would be of advantage to Utah; but chief of all must be named disfranchisement of all polygamists. "Heroic treatment," undoubtedly, but apparently the only remedy for a most aggravated case. It is one of those suggested by President Hayes in his final message to Congress. Said he: "If deemed best to continue the existing form of local government, I recommend that the right to vote and sit on juries in the Territory of Utah be confined to those who neither practice nor uphold polygamy." Said the lamented President Garfield in his inaugural: "In my judgment it is the duty of Congress, while respecting to the utmost the conscientious convictions and religious scruples of every citizen, to prohibit within its jurisdiction all criminal

practices, especially of that class which destroy the family relation and endanger social order; nor can any ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp in the smallest degree the functions and powers of the National Government." Disfranchisement, though severe, seems the only means by which a treasonable priesthood can be prevented from using all the political machinery of the Territory to pervert the ends of good government, and exclusion from the jury-box the only method of securing the ends of justice. Membership in the Mormon Church should be considered *prima facie* evidence of

disqualification to vote or serve as jurors.

With this accomplished there would be some opportunity for the "Gentile" population to secure the benefits of a representative form of government, and frame and execute a system of laws in harmony with the United States Constitution and Statutes. But efficient and immediate as this remedy might be, there is perhaps but the least ground to hope for its application, unless forced upon the country by the Mormon power itself in its overweening arrogance. The United States Government is proverbially slow in the use of severity, and probably will wait until compelled to act in self-defense. Doubtless, advancing civilization will do much to hasten the crisis; Mormonism cannot long endure the light of an enlightened Christian age, and the time must come when the people of the republic will no longer allow their government to be trifled with, and its laws defiantly trampled under foot.

3. Education.—And this in all its departments, secular and religious, and most of all in the preaching of a holy law and a pure Gospel. Ignorance is the prolific soil into which Mormonism and kindred systems of darkness strike deep their roots, and thence draw life and power. There can be little question that the masses of the Mormon people are disposed to lead honest, peaceable lives as loyal citizens of a free country. Once emancipated from dense ignorance and from slavish subserviency to a cunning priesthood, and they would be no longer a disgrace to themselves or the country whose benefits they enjoy. Give them and their children the advantages of a decent education; teach them the full import of American citizenship, liberty of conscience, and amenability to civil law, and their emancipation must follow. Nowhere in the nation is there

greater need of governmental aid and supervision of the school To accomplish any thing in this line, public education must be taken from the control of the priesthood and placed in charge of loyal teachers under supervision of honest and judicious superintendents, and attendance at the public schools be made compulsory. Awaiting congressional action in this direction, the Christian denominations can do no better thing than to thoroughly re-enforce and liberally sustain their educational and missionary enterprises already inaugurated in the Territory. Contending with a system more intolerant of true Christianity than any system of pagan lands, that heroic band of missionaries and teachers are deserving of the deepest sympathy and heartiest support. Their work has already been greatly owned of God, and now gives promise of even grander success. The younger generation of Mormons seem to be rapidly breaking away from the grotesque superstitions and repulsive doctrines of the system; for them Christian education must prove invaluable, and through them a noble and honorable future be assured to Utah. Along these lines of treatment, it would seem, we must look for a final, though perhaps tardy, solution of the problem; and so, under the hand of eternal Beneficence, shall at length be secured in this Territory of mighty resources both liberty of conscience and obedience to law.

ART. II.—OUR METHODIST LOCAL PREACHERS.

It is not necessary to remind any reader of the Quarterly that local preachers have done a great work in the founding and upbuilding of Methodism. There is no disposition to stint the honors that are paid to the devoted and heroic men who carried American Methodism through the Revolution and founded more than half of our earlier classes and societies both East and West. And yet there is probably more dissatisfaction with this than with any other feature of the present Methodism; and the dissatisfaction is felt as impressively by the local preachers as by the rest of us. The object of this paper is to review the facts and provoke study of the situation. The time has gone by when this part of our history needed vindication;

but historical honors help us very little in dealing with a piece of Church machinery. We are left, after all laudation or apotheosis, with the practical problem of our day unsolved or unsatisfactorily solved. There are, in all Methodism, more than 89,000 local preachers, while the aggregate number of itinerant ministers is only about 42,500; that is to say, more than half of the Methodists authorized to preach the Gospel are local preachers. There is apparently, also, a presumption to be recognized that we have inadequate room for both arms of the ministry. Of the 42,500 itinerant ministers, a large number are without appointments, and at least two thirds of such ministers are physically able to preach. The annual sessions of Conferences show us each year that, both at home and abroad, we have "more pegs than holes," more qualified itinerants than places for itinerants. If we turn to the local preachers, we have to become familiar with the complaint that these preachers have no work, or insufficient work. Respecting the itinerant ministry, we may, perhaps, more or less confidently believe that the overcrowding of Conferences is only a temporary and self-correcting evil, or no evil at all. The power to select the best ten out of a hundred would always be regarded by a good organizer as an excellent thing; and if such selection obtains in the admission of young men to Conferences the work may gain by the necessary rejection of candidates. But as to the local preachers we have no similar consolations. It cannot be altogether wholesome to have a large body of merely honorary preachers. If half of the 89,000 men in the ranks of the local preachers are without work suited to their calling, they must be more or less a burdensome camp-following rather than a fighting force. If we have twice too many local preachers, the fact ought to be made so conspicuous as to check the licensing of new men by the quarterly or district conferences. No doubt, too, if the overplus were made clear, a large part of those who are now local preachers would cheerfully retire. To the practical mind it seems desirable that we should have either more work for local preachers or fewer local preachers. The process of selection which we apply to the candidates for Annual Conference membership might, if there were easier means of applying it, give us a better local ministry. The effort to find fit work for our local preachers might

yield happier results by multiplying our churches and members with greater rapidity. It is probable that both things need to be done. It is almost certain that too many men are licensed to preach; it is quite clear that the work of local preachers could be considerably enlarged.

To consider the situation successfully, we ought to take account of the three classes of local preachers. We have, first, the young men who are preparing for the stated ministry, and who use the local rank as a vestibule to the Annual Conference. These men are only nominally local preachers. That is to say, we have no occasion to consider them in connection with the problem except as yielding a certain proportion of rejected candidates who are thrown back upon the local rank and remain there. In our day, a young man who is licensed to preach knows, and those who license him know, whether or not he is a candidate for the Annual Conference. When he is a candidate for "promotion" his temporary presence in the local division may confer honor upon that division, but it does not raise any questions that concern the body of local preachers unless he is rejected by the Annual Conference. But this exception has a certain importance. The rejected candidate almost invariably remains a local preacher, and his rejection into that rank doubtless impairs the reputation of the local preachers. The local ministry becomes at once the Botany Bay of men who fail to obtain membership in the Annual Conferences. The number of the men of this section of the local ministry, whom we may call licentiates, is not accurately known; but, in the present year, it is probably not far from 15,000 in all Methodism. It includes, of course, all the first year and second year probationers in the Conferences; for, until membership in the Conference is obtained, these men are liable to return to the local rank as rejected candidates. number of this body of licentiates is important in the localpreacher problem only in view of possible failure as applicants for admission to Conferences. Probably, however, in all Methodism, from 2,000 to 2,500 of such candidates are annually added to the ranks of the local preachers. They did not set out to become local preachers; they were not licensed as additions to the body of local preachers; no consideration of the needs of the local Churches entered into their being licensed.

So far as this work of licensing falls upon quarterly conferences it is to a certain extent demoralizing; because the quarterly conferences are granting licenses as to which every question of the local wants is necessarily set aside. But the more important matter is that in this way the number of local preachers is continually increased by an indirection, and that many men who would not be licensed for local service are actually added to that service by licensing them for the itinerant service. It has to be remembered that, in this way, the local body of ministers grows large by a process whose numerical results cannot be foreseen or reduced by any General Conference action that leaves the licentiates to pass through this local-preacher class as a vestibule to the Conference, and to fall back upon it as a home for failures. Other aspects of this class of preachers

may be considered at a later stage in our study.

A second section of the local preachers consists of located ministers. When a preacher ceases to be a member of an Annual Conference by his voluntary act he returns to the localpreacher class. We have now, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, made an advance upon this, and involuntary location has become the usage of the Church. As a means of securing efficient itinerants, this involuntary location is probably wise; but it adds a distinctly new ignominy to the local body that a man can be expelled into it from an Annual Conference. This is a clear case of Botany Bay. The voluntary locations heretofore in use were not always properly voluntary. The unsuccessful itinerant was informed by his presiding elder that the Conference had no place for him, and advised to ask for a location. He did not wish to retire; but he scarcely felt that he had an alternative. In many cases the locations have been, and will continue to be, purely voluntary, and the located ministers are among the brightest ornaments of local preacherdom. Of a section which the gifted and honored Abel Stevens has recently insisted upon joining, no one has a right to speak contemptuously. The leadings of Providence often take able and noble men out of the itineracy; and such men adorn the body which they join when they "take a location." On the other hand, the Conferences too often locate ministers who should be tried and expelled, and much more frequently locate men who have failed in the ministry and ought never to have

been in it. Not all the carelessness and thoughtless kindness which puts ineffective men into Conferences is atoned for by locating them after five or ten years of inefficient service; but this open door into the local ministry probably invites some of the carelessness and thoughtlessness. It were to be wished that the purgation were more thorough, but the local preachers cannot feel honored when they receive, along with some noble men, a considerable number of men who have failed in the ministry. The excellent located ministers are not numerous enough to shield the general body of local preachers from a species of odium as the receivers of rejected instruments. Nor is it a good answer to say that one may still be a good local preacher after he has failed in the Annual Conference. For to be a good local preacher one must be a good preacher, and good preachers are never "cornered" into location for lack of appointments seeking their services. In so far as the Conferences dump their failures into the local ministry they disparage and degrade that ministry. Here, too, we have a source of supply, from which we draw local preachers, which cannot be measured and which is not created to meet the wants of the local Church. Any attempt to curtail the numbers of men in the local rank must take account of this spilling over into it by the itinerant ministry. Such men become members of local Churches and often adorn and strengthen them; but their coming cannot be foreseen, and they are apt to fall into Churches already liberally supplied with lay preachers. number of the located ministers in all Methodism cannot be accurately stated here; but it is, perhaps, safe to estimate that there are now 12,000 of them on the Church records. The number may be too small. The returns of our own Methodist Episcopal Church show that ninety men located in 1881. It is probably prudent to assume that there are 8,000 licentiates and 12,000 located ministers among the local preachers of all Methodism. That is to say, there are 20,000 of the total 89,000 who were made local preachers unintentionally and by inadvertence. They are added to the local body in the process of making up and revising the rolls of the itinerant bodies. Omitting all consideration of their quality, we are bound to recognize that this method of filling the local ranks is a considerable factor in our problem. For one fourth of the 89,000

the regular source of supply is not responsible. The quarterly conferences made itinerants, and this work has come back to them as a local ministry.

The third section of the local preachers is composed of men licensed for the service of the local Church. We state the matter de jure and not de facto. When a quarterly conference licenses a man to preach, it is presumed to want his services. When it asks for his ordination it is presumed to want his services as an elder or deacon. It is, doubtless, true that this presumption too often fails in the practice of quarterly The writer remembers very distinctly a first contact with an opposite theory, the theory that if A. thinks himself called to preach, a quarterly conference has no right to contradict him by refusing a license. From that self-stultifying doctrine there has grown up a custom under which men practically license themselves to preach the Gospel. The most forcible objection to this theory is that the licensing body pretends to exercise a candid and godly judgment, but, in fact, exercises no judgment of any kind whatever, and the license goes forth under false colors. Another untenable, though less culpable, theory is that the quarterly conference is not acting for its own Church in ordering a license to be issued, but for some hypothetical, ignorant, and uncritical people who may exist somewhere in the county or State. This generous impulse to furnish the poor and ignorant with poor and ignorant preaching would probably subside upon investigation, but it is still a very kindly feeling, and sometimes hits a great want. Its evil is that it adds in an indefinite way to the number of local preachers, and adds many men who prove to be burdensome to the Church. And whatever takes away from the licensing body the sense of doing this work for their own service must weaken their examination and promote a careless de-The hypothetical poor people probably want local preachers of sturdy mental vigor as well as of sound piety, and a board of Church officers that licenses a man whom it would not wish to listen to probably has more egotism than the facts would ballast. Not to dwell upon unpleasant details, we pass to the general statement that for one reason or another the number of local preachers has been very carelessly multiplied by licensing boards, their fatal error lying in a belief that they

have only to say Yes to a man who claims a call to the ministry. or in the other belief, that very poor preachers are in great demand in some parts of the Lord's vineyard. It is a very singular perversion that the poor, to whom the Head of the Church preached the Gospel, should, in our day, be specially provided with poor preachers. Whatever may have been incidentally fit in some times and places, it is certain that, in our day, the local preachers should be the best and most gifted men in the Church; and a licensing body that drops the standard below that required in its own pulpit deliberately degrades the local ministry. In effect, this has been done, and a large per cent. of this third section is composed of men who ought never to have been put into the ranks. Such men do no work as preachers. They are ministers by brevet, and no duties are attached to the commissions which they hold. It might be an ungracious thing to estimate the number of men thus added by unwise licensing as a burden to the class called local preachers.

Besides careless licensing, migration has unduly enlarged this section at particular points. Local preachers who come into churches by letter do not come there in answer to any call for their services. So far as their licenses are concerned they are an importation without previous demand. This tends to the accumulation of licensed men in churches where they are not needed. The Metropolitan Church at Washington used to have its "twelve apostles," a body of worthy men six times too large for their sphere of usefulness. This migratory incident is important in its bearing upon the problem before us. It is one more way in which the supply is made to exceed the demand, an additional influence not under control of the local churches; for it has passed into the customary law of the Church, that a man once made a local preacher is always a local preacher, unless he is expelled from the Church or withdraws from it. Licensing boards are swift in giving commissions and slow in withdrawing them-we may almost say that they never withdraw them. This tenure of the local-preacher office is a question to be considered at a later stage of this discussion. Few need to be told that this third section has furnished us able, gifted, saintly men. Such examples as the late John Cottier of Brooklyn, and the living Edward Heffner

of Baltimore, or John Field of Philadelphia, may be mentioned without invidiousness as clear proofs that laymen may be powerful preachers and effective ministers. Indeed, it would be superfluous to prove in set terms the large value which the Church has gained, and is still gaining, through the services of men who never dreamed of entering the itineracy. It is safe to say that Pan-Methodism now has at least ten thousand such preachers, of whose eminent usefulness as preachers of the Gospel there is not the smallest doubt among those who know them.

This branch of our study would be incomplete if we omitted from the review that considerable body of members of Annual Conferences who are in fact local preachers. The class embraces the superannuates, supernumeraries, and official servants of the general Church. There are several thousand of them having no pastoral charges, and preaching the Gospel very effectively in the churches to which they are attached or those which they visit. The line between them and the local class is a technical one only: their ministerial work is the same as that of the licentiate, located, and lay preachers. They ought to be considered in this study because they partly supply the demand for extra-pastoral preaching. Some have thought that they fully meet the present demand for services which pastors cannot conveniently perform. And, if we consider broadly the evangelistic work of the Church, we shall have to take account of some hundreds of "elect ladies," who are effectively calling sinners to repentance. And as none of these ladies content themselves with occasional preaching, but are instant in season, their labors go some way toward supplying the lack which the local preacher exists to satisfy. Such, then, is the composition of the extra-pastoral body of Methodist preachers. If it is too large, the Church is responsible for the overplus, and it may be suggested that it has overgrown under a stimulating influence which is peculiarly Methodistic. In earlier days it was a great need of the Church that every tongue that could speak should be put to service. We began our training of converts by getting them to talk. We saw with delight the first buddings of gifts of speech. We encouraged talking about Christ quite as zealously as living Christ. We made a specialty of speaking and praying in public, and believed that

there could not possibly be too much of the "gift of gab." We worked so perseveringly on this line that we developed the tongue more rapidly than the character, and came to have a talking religion that made every thing ring in the church and on the camp-ground. It was a very proper kind of cultivation, but we probably overdid it. It was a matter of course that this zeal of ours should lead to the licensing of exhorters and local preachers without any reference to perceived demand. A certain grade of ability with the tongue seemed to earn a license to preach. This impulse has continued with us-will, it is to be hoped, always characterize us as a Church-but it is still true that the impulse needs to be checked by prudence and due attention to the sort of demand there may be for tongue service. The worthy man whom this impulse pushed into the ministry is probably in great demand to visit the sick and the poor, to teach in Sunday-school, and to lead in class. probably misled him by putting too much honor upon mere speech; preaching the Gospel is a great and necessary work, but there is much more of great and necessary work to which active and gifted young Christians should be trained. In these days, the man who can conduct a Sunday-school or push along a philanthropic enterprise is in greater demand than the man who can preach; in other words we are abundantly supplied with preachers and insufficiently supplied with teachers and leaders of philanthropic work. Even in evangelizing the neglected neighborhoods and classes, the Sunday-school teacher and business manager are quite as essential as the preacher. We cannot afford to bend all our talents to the service of the pulpit. want a portion for the service of the sick, another portion for instruction, and others for various forms of charity. Many men who might have been useful in these departments have been lost to active service by being made honorary members of the overcrowded ministry. In the last score of years we have rapidly developed the teaching, managing, and philanthropic branches of lay work, and future progress in these departments will probably reduce the size of the column of men marching into the local ministry. This force is already appreciably affecting the annual number of new licenses granted in the thickly settled parts of the country. There are official boards who will license only those men who are candidates for the Conferences; and in various ways a considerable pressure is employed to prevent the increase of local preachers, while the most potent of the living influences in the Church pushes the

brightest young members into Sunday-school work.

The tendencies to which we have just referred have been most marked in the Northern States of this country. It is partly through the growth of these new branches of Church work that in the Methodist Episcopal Church the leading laymen are no longer exclusively the local preachers. Their position is not as it once was among us, and still is in other branches of Methodism-next to that of the preachers in charge. A group of laymen who do not have licenses to preach, but are hard workers in the church field-as teachers, managers, and philanthropists-now stands between the pastorate and the local preacher. A very significant proof of this may be noted in the composition of the delegations of laymen at the General and lay Conferences. Fifty years ago these delegations would have been composed in great measure of local preachers; now the lists of such delegations contain the names of very few local preachers. Another display of the same tendencies is seen in the relative weakening of the numerical strength of Methodist Episcopal local preacherdom. branch of Methodism has a smaller proportion of these preachers than others have. This at once appears when we note that with 1,717,567 members, we have only 12,323 local preachers; while all Methodism has 89,000 local preachers. We have one local preacher to each 140 members, while all Methodism has one local preacher for each 55 members. Extending this inquiry, we learn that the episcopal Methodisms have a smaller proportion of local ministers than the non-episcopal. Relatively to membership the non-episcopal branches have five times as many local preachers as the episcopal. In episcopal Methodisms there is one local preacher to 110 members; in non-episcopal Methodism, one to 22 members. Contrary to common belief, we find that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is in this respect on the same plane with our branch of Methodism. In that Church there is only one local preacher to each 144 members, a little below our own relative number. The proportion of local preachers in episcopal Methodism is carried up by the African Methodist Episcopal and the Methodist Episcopal

Zion Churches, which, according to the returns given in the "Methodist Year-Book" for this year, have a local preacher for each 51 members; and it is worth noticing that the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America has only one local preacher to each 162 members. The British Islands are the favorite haunts of the local preacher. About nine in ten of the British Methodist preachers are in the local ranks, and every twentieth member is licensed to preach. The English branches have held most firmly to the original tendencies and impulses of Methodism in regard to the lay ministry, and they have undoubtedly overdone the business of making local preachers. If they have not, it is certain that Methodism in this country has sadly erred in the other direction; for it has scarcely one sixth as many licensed ministers, (relative to

membership) as have the British Methodists.

Confining our survey to American Episcopal Methodism, and chiefly to our own branch of it, we soon appreciate the importance of an approximately accurate estimate of the actual number of men in the third section—the lay preachers. The locations in our branch have for thirty years averaged nearly 100 per annum, and it is probable that 2,000 of these located ministers are still on the rolls as local preachers. The number of admissions on trial in the Annual Conferences for the last year is given as 1,694. During the same year 1,621 local preachers were employed as pastors, and three fourths of them were doubtless candidates for Annual Conferences. Assuming that four years is the average service of a local preacher before entering a conference on probation, there should be some 6,500 licentiates in our Church. Adding 2,000 located ministers, the total of 8,500 in the two first sections deducted from the grand total leaves us only 3,823 lay preachers. The writer does not believe that there are, however, so many as 3,823. Let us suppose that we had no lay preachers, what number of preachers should we have left after supplying the appointments? There are 347 appointments that are not to pastoral functions. There are 2,000 superannuate and supernumerary preachers. If then we had no lay ministry-none but Conference ministers, located ministers, and licentiates—we should apparently have a preaching force, after supplying stations, of nearly 11,000. But since 1,621 local preachers were filling appointments in 1881, there

would be left, after proper deduction, about 9,400 as the reserve force. The value of this estimate is the showing that the lay preachers constitute only about one fourth of the reserve ministerial force. It should be plain that the local preachers proper are not numerous enough in the two chief Methodisms of this country to be a great nuisance, and that if a local preacher is good for any thing whatever there are not too many of them. And yet, every well-informed Methodist is familiar with the fact that unemployed local preachers are abundant among us. Nor is there much doubt that the process of wasting away has for several years been at work upon the local preacher body. A very large proportion of the men on the lists are old men. A convention of local preachers does not show ten per cent. of young men; and very few young men are licensed except those who are candidates for the conferences. We are writing here of the Methodist Episcopal Church. and we may add that, if present tendencies continue to prevail for a score of years, there will be few local preachers except licentiates and located ministers. Perhaps the local preacher proper ought to pass away; if he ought not, if we cannot afford to lose him, then the Church has some serious work to do in this department of her duties.

The number of lay ministers in our Church has probably relatively declined gradually since about 1835. In 1838, the first year in which the General Minutes separately enumerate them fully, the number of members was 696,549, traveling preachers 3,332, and local preachers 5,792. Coming down forty-two years, to 1880, we must compare the totals of the two chief episcopal Methodisms with the foregoing figures. In 1880 the combined totals are: members 2,528,603; traveling preachers 15,503; local preachers 18,307. In 1838 we had one local preacher to each 103 members; in 1880 one to each 139 members. In 1838 the excess of local preachers over traveling preachers was 75 per cent. of the latter; in 1880 it was only 13 per cent. This may not be a fair comparison, but it is the only approximately just one that can be made over a long period. Confining the comparison to our own branch of Methodism, we find that the number of local preachers in 1850 exceeded the traveling preachers by 32 per cent. of the latter, whereas the excess in 1880 was only 2 per cent. In 1850 we

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had a local preacher for each 127 members; in 1880 only one for each 139 members. These are the changes of thirty years. In 1859 we had a local preacher for each 124 members; and an addition of 14 per cent. to their number would make them as numerous as the local preachers. Coming down to 1870, we find an excess of local preachers over itinerants of 24 per cent.. with 120 members to each local preacher. In 1877 the same excess is only 16, and a local preacher to each 133 members. In 1880 the excess had fallen to 2 per cent., with a local preacher to each 139 members. If we now had as many local preachers in proportion to members as in 1850 we should count 13,388 local preachers; and the same proportion relative to the itinerant ministry would give us 15,748. Taking the mean of the two comparative deficits, we have a relative loss of 2,093 local preachers in thirty years, or more than 14 per cent. The importance of these figures cannot be seen until we remember that the whole loss belongs to one of the three classes of the local ministry. The licentiates and the located ministers have probably quite kept up numerically with the growth of the denomination. The loss is in lay preachers; and of this class we probably have hardly half so many as we had in 1850 relative to itinerants and members.

The official interpretation put upon the action of the General Conference of 1876, ordering a course of study for local preachers, has undoubtedly accelerated the liquidation of the lay preachers. Unfortunately the General Conference did not define the application of the new law, and it was assumed that it applied to all local preachers not in orders. Under this interpretation quarterly and district conferences were instructed by presiding elders that no license could be renewed unless the candidate had passed in the course of study. Fortunately this instruction was not always, perhaps not generally, given at first, and it was not until 1880 that it provoked a strong protest. In November of that year the Bishops advised that the course of study be applied only to new men; but as the Discipline contains the old ruling, and is very properly regarded as the law-book of the Church, some old local preachers are each year retired under it. The absence of a definition in the act of the General Conference would seem to require a minimum interpretation, and that is now the administrative rule.

Custom in the Church—and custom is excellent law—makes a permanent tenure of the office of local preacher. New conditions ought, under the analogy of the course of study in Annual Conferences, to be applied only to new men. It is true that the course of study is simple; but men commonly resent what they deem injustice, and there were in 1876 many old local preachers who were very useful with very small gifts of study. Many of these have been retired unwisely; another class, mustered out by the maximum ruling, were never regretted. This unfortunate ruling has probably caused a decrease in the actual number of local preachers. In 1878 there were 426 more of them than in 1881, though we have 212,000 more members in 1881 than in 1878.

The history of the local preacher in this country discloses some interesting matters for meditation. In the days of Asbury he was a yoke-fellow of the itinerant; and Asbury got as much work from two local preachers as from one itinerant. Two hundred local ministers answered the demand for one hundred itinerants. The distinction between the two classes was not They were all ministers. In that day the local very marked. preacher was hardly recognized as a layman; and in some sections, notably in Maryland, he is still a minister in the eyes of the people and of the law. The law of the Methodist Episcopal Church preserves this history. Local and itinerant preachers are ordained in the same form, and on similar conditions of examination and election, to the offices of deacon and elder. Itinerants and local preachers stand side by side to be ordained; and after ordination, whatever may have been true before, the men in both classes are equally ministers of Jesus Christ. Eligibility to ordination effectively classifies local preachers in the ministry. The relegation of them to the ranks of laymen in electing delegates for the General Conference was a fruit of the new growth in our Church life, as well as a formal necessity, caused by the absence of the local men from the Annual Conferences. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, makes an effort to secure the local ministers a separate standing in these elections; but the effort has produced no special results.

The local preacher's malady has been that he gradually ceased to be a minister and did not become a layman. The ministry on one side of him ceased to be circuit-riders and became

stationed pastors; the laymen, on the other side, developed teachers, leaders, and philanthropists. The Church, in its law. at least, left this middle man in possession of all his immunities and privileges, but his vocation as a fellow of the glorious company of circuit-riders lapsed into silence as the circuit-rider advanced to his new character as a pastor of a Church. Asbury's time the local ministers were a reserve force of circuit-riders, or, rather, a regular part of the force. Our ministry has passed through a revolution which has left one half of it without regular occupation. The process is not quite finished; there are still circuits in which the local preacher takes his place on a "plan," as in the older days. But these "plans" give employment to very few of the thousands of local men. Another "plan," that of associations of local men, has taken the place of the old one in Baltimore and Philadelphia, and perhaps in some other sections; but this new departure has made little progress. We have educated the local preacher to do what he is told to do, and he is not at home in seeking to make a "plan" of his own. As he is called upon, he fills three functions: he is an evangelist, a supply, and a kind of assistant pastor. The latter function is not large; but it is conspicuously useful in special instances. A Brooklyn pastor recently left a large church in the pastoral care of his local preacher for four months, and had no reason to regret it. The pulpit had a "supply" from the editorial staff of the Church; and the pastor for the time being was an efficient, godly, and beloved local preacher belonging to the society. In other cases, the service of the ordained local preacher is a precious help to the pastors of large churches in the administration of the Lord's supper. We have very successful evangelists, of whom Thomas Harrison is a brilliant representative. But the number is not large; we doubt if so many as two hundred of our local preachers systematically pursue the evangelistic vocation. As a supply, the local preacher is more conspicuous. In this capacity he sometimes preserves the traditions of the olden time. But, ordinarily, he is now not an associate of a body of circuit-riders; he is the pastor of the stations that are too weak to support pastors and too high-spirited to become parts of an old-fashioned circuit. To a considerable extent, however, this local-preacher pastor is drawn from the licentiate

and located sections, and, to a very limited extent, we believe,

from the lay preachers.

The source of much of the dissatisfaction to which the opening sentences of this paper refer may be traced, in our Church at least, to the break-up of the circuit system. In the East it dates as far back as 1835. Thirty years ago, in Illinois and Iowa, the writer served as a local preacher on circuit "plans" having from eight to ten appointments and as many local men associated with one or two itinerants. On the same ground about half of the appointments are now stations where the pastor preaches twice on Sunday in one church, and the other appointments have altogether disappeared. These circuits and their partition very fairly represent the greater part of our work in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The abandoned half of the old appointments are, however, much too large a proportion for the whole field. But these appointments deserve mention and regret. They were country school-houses in neighborhoods distant from two to five miles from towns. When the towns aspired to be stations with constant ministerial service by a single pastor, they could not well do otherwise. Other denominations established such a service in the towns, and to fail of adopting the new order was to lose influence and usefulness. The Methodists in the villages showed praiseworthy enterprise in assuming larger burdens for the sake of keeping Methodism at the front. To support these new stations required all the strength that the adjacent parts of the circuit could add to that of the villages. The country members readily consented to attend the village church and contribute to its support. For a time, services were maintained in the country appointments; but gradually such services were abandoned, partly because the new order had developed an appetite for better preaching, partly because the local preachers, as a class, could not in the changed conditions command hearers. At this transition stage a Methodist statesman might, if his services had been bent to the task, have saved the old appointments and the local preachers. But those were laborious days. The wants of the stations absorbed all the energy of presiding elders, pastors, and laymen. Churches had to be built and paid for; a greatly increased local expenditure for the maintenance of pastors had to be met by liberality and strenuous

enthusiasm. The statesmen were kept busy in founding the stations. It is possible, too, that the local preacher of that period could not have kept the country appointments alive. It was a period when a great growth in the Church was drafting all the best local preachers into the ranks of the itineracy. The country congregations would assemble to listen to the village pastor, but the local preacher could not as a rule then command an audience, even in the school-houses. This was, in greater measure, due to the new demands made upon the pulpit; in some measure, also, to the fact that the hearts of the country Methodists had gone to the village churches. In process of time, the thrifty farmers of our Church moved into the villages. The character of the country population changed, and in many cases the change reduced to a minimum the demand for Methodist preaching. In the central West, especially, the places where these lost appointments were filled have for some time ceased to make any call upon the services of our Church. Perhaps it was inevitable that this process should take the unpleasant features which we recall. We had to take the towns; we had not resources enough at the time to retain our grasp upon the country. But the country is still there; no other Church has stepped into our abandoned appointments. It is at least just as easy now to build this work again as it was for the fathers to build the old circuits out of which we have developed the stations. Circuits could be made in great numbers which would pay more for the support of the gospel than the older preachers received. A single preacher in charge, with a half dozen local preachers as assistants of the old type, could easily and advantageously manage one of these circuits. A movement in this direction has the elements of great promise-regarding the matter simply as one of Church aggrandizement. If we consider it in the light of Christian duty, these neglected country fields reproach us for having forgotten the faith and heroism of our fathers. Now at last we have the power to recover lost ground for We have it, that is to say, if we have the men. Could the local fraternity now furnish the men who would be needed to reorganize and build up the abandoned portions of the old circuits? That there is some hesitancy in making an affirmative answer will prove to the reader that

we have not yet completed our study of the local preacher

problem.

Since 1840 a considerable advance has been made in the education of the ministry, and in this advance the local ministry has had but a small share. Some of the best scholars of the Church are local preachers; but the main body of this local force has been recruited—as the whole ministry mainly was before 1840-from the zealous and more or less gifted, but partially educated, members of the Church. The growth of our colleges and theological seminaries has filled the regular ministry with educated men. They are not all successful; education is but one of several factors in a good preacher, and, in the present discussion, it may be freely admitted that college and theological training may be altogether omitted in exceptional cases. Education, in the higher sense, is not necessary to a preacher; but it is also true that of two men of equal talents and character, the educated one will succeed better than the one who is not educated. If one class of our ministers has shared in the benefits of our higher schools and the other has not, the former will be expected to surpass the latter in the practical test of "acceptability." In point of fact, education has increased the distance between the two classes. It is not important to this study that we should discuss the class of facts to which we now point. The local preachers of good report among us have for years sought to increase the necessary and required educational advantages of their class. The National Association of Local Preachers has been especially active and vigilant in this movement.

We have now considered three several causes which, since 1840, have worked to widen the distance between itinerant and local preachers. The break-up of the circuit system, the growth of lay work in teaching, management, and philanthropy, and the increase of educated ministers in the "regular work," are the chief causes of unpleasant facts in our present use or non-use of the existing local preacher. There is another force which is not so easily described. The old-fashioned local preacher was a minister, and the new-fashioned one can hardly be said to exist. The want which the Church of to-day feels—its feeling may not be right—is a new kind of lay-preachers. In name, we have always had them; in fact, we have gone on

all through our history making local preachers who are simply a supernumerary class of ministers. This historical tendency may have been on the right lines; but, for some reason, the Church has been conscious for many years of its dissatisfaction with the older impulse and its effects. It is difficult to make an argument in our generation for so large a supernumerary body of ministers. Almost any Christian congregation responds readily to an appeal for a class of lay-preachers. The distinction is not one that is fairly covered by our terms. All feel better than they can describe the difference between a man who is thought of and spoken of as a minister and one who is thought of and spoken of as a layman. Where they dwell, our local preachers usually bear the character of ministers. This creates for them two disadvantages: they are likely to be considered poor ministers, and they are stripped of the power which an unprofessional advocate of religion possesses. It is felt to be unfair to measure them as though their lives were spent in ministerial study; it is felt as a loss that they are clothed with a professional character. How much more effectively will a Christian lawyer speak! Of him the audience does not exact any special learning or skill. All faults in these lines are ignored because it were unjust to notice them. All his good points command especial attention because he speaks only as a layman. The precious harvest which we desire to reap in this field is the influence of a layman's standing, character, and power. It is plain enough, however, that a man who is licensed (practically for life) and serves as a substitute for or adjunct to pastors, must in time come to have a professional ministerial standing in his community. Perhaps it must be found very difficult in any system to gather this precious harvest of the personal value of a layman in the pulpit. The personal value of the minister we obtain more easily; and it may safely be predicted that the Church will never have a large class of habitual preachers that have no professional atmosphere about them. We are like children crying for the moon. Still there are degrees here, as elsewhere in Church order, and some excess in his ministerial standing may damage the usefulness of a local preacher, and some sturdy effort to keep his lay power may add to his pulpit efficiency. Speaking broadly, the tendency of the age to division of labor seems not to favor the hope of

getting a class of good preachers who are not classed as ministers by those who hear them preach.

The feeling spoken of in the preceding paragraph has very important relations to our study. It is a wholesome feeling whose cause lies partly in the custom of picking out (so far as is possible to the wisdom of the presiding elders and Conferences) the best half of the ministry for itinerant work, and leaving the poorer half to be employed as local preachers. This conspires with causes before noted to degrade the class in public esteem and to keep out of it some of the best laymen. To say plainly what one could wish not to say at all, the Church no longer brings its best and brightest men to the local ministry. Relatively to the rest of the leading classes, the local preachers have declined, partly because this service is, on the whole, recruited from a lower relative grade of social and moral power than it was in our earlier days. The local preacher must be a good deal of a man, must have character and commanding force, or he will inevitably more or less fail, Who believes that the laymen of such manliness and force are now commonly drafted into the local ranks of the ministry? Here and there one is recruited for permanent service in this corps; mainly these strong laymen are to be found in other Church work. The discontent which is becoming painful would be alleviated, if not removed, by any policy that should enlist the commanding lay talent for pulpit services. discontent has advanced to a conviction that it is not worth while to recruit the local service from the class of young men who are in our days most willing to enlist. The writer appreciates the difficulty and disagreeableness of his task in making a survey of these unpleasant features of the subject. It is often said in rebuttal that, in their station, the local preachers average as well as the itinerants in theirs; but the phrase "in their station" conveys all our criticism, since we have gradually made their station that of an inferior order of ministers. It should also be remembered that in two respects at least the local preachers are under a relative disability. Weakness of character in an itinerant may be concealed by his frequent changes of residence, while that of a local preacher must be disclosed by his permanence. And while the itinerant is subjected to an ordeal in which the fittest survives, the local

preacher simply drops out of employment, retaining his license under such comparative tests as are applied to him. The unsuccessful itinerant becomes a local elder or deacon: the unsuccessful local preacher usually continues to be counted in the annual returns as a member of the order. A continual strain. an incessant sifting, voluntary and involuntary locations, all fail to keep the itineracy up to an entirely satisfactory level. What, then, must be the relative inferiority of a class in which there is no strain, sifting, or systematic weeding out of inefficiency? If this class cannot recruit from the best brain and character of the Church, if it cannot evade the necessity of receiving into it the failures of the Conferences, if it has no system of self-sifting and no effective sifting by Church authority, it cannot hope to escape from a progression in inferiority which will increase its own discontent with itself and the discontent of the Church with its influence and work.

If these studies have yielded accurate results, it is apparent that if we do not want a lay ministry we need give ourselves very little concern about it. The one we have will pass away. A score of years will place it where a General Conference might be confidently expected to pass unanimously a vote of liquidation. This action might, indeed, be delayed by the necessity of having a place of exile for the unsuccessful itinerants: but so far as the uses and values of the local order are concerned, causes now in active operation threaten the class with extinction. Can the Church afford the loss? A first question here is whether the licentiates and located ministers are sufficient in numbers and likely to remain in sufficient numbers to do such work as we now assign to local preachers. This would probably be answered in the affirmative by most students of our system. A second question would be whether it is not at least a convenience to have licentiates pass through this grade, and in many cases remain in the class. This, also, would receive an affirmative answer. We have two groups of men who fail or retire, and "to let them down easily" we shall choose, probably, to retain them in the ministry. As an attachment or "annex" to the pastorate the local preacher rank is a great convenience to presiding elders and bishops-how great few of us will realize until we have tried

to put ourselves in the place of a presiding elder who has on his hands a worthy but inefficient minister. The order is a great convenience, too, to preachers who for laudable reasons wish to retire from Conference relations. But these conveniences concern only the itinerant ministry, and perhaps it is not altogether wise to maintain an order of local preachers for such reasons. But if the next General Conference were to order: (1) that licentiates be made a class by themselves, having no relations with the local preachers; and (2) that all located ministers, or, rather, (for justice' sake,) all non-stationed ministers, form another distinct class, it would probably appear that with a little patience the liquidation of local preacherdom would be accomplished without further legislation. The noble men now in the class would pass into heaven; the local churches would content themselves with making licentiates and employing located (or supernumerary) ministers for the rare demands that arise for extra ministerial labor. Our customs and policy do not seem now to require a local preacher class in the ministry. These customs and policy are far from perfection; but there is a continual hardening of the lines about them, and there are only such feeble signs of discontent with them as inevitably show themselves in any system with which the great body of the constituents are satisfied. A division of the ministry into effective and non-effective -no man being received except with a view to effective rank-would at present meet all the wants which the Church at large feels to be of high importance. Probably our branch of Methodism is unconsciously preparing for such a decisive change, in these or other ways, as would abolish the lay preacher. Is this tendency a safe one? Ought we to arrest it? Is it possible to arrest it? Are new methods of working the office desirable and practicable?

There are good grounds for holding that our Church is neglecting large opportunities for evangelistic work. Every considerable town has its neglected population. "It is Catholic or Jewish," is a common excuse for neglecting it; but the fact is only partly such. And one wonders why we should have missionaries to Catholics in Italy and South America, and studiously pass by Catholics at home. These neglected quarters are full of people of American birth, and they respond with quite average readiness to Christian appeals. The old

circuits have their numerous neglected neighborhoods. Even so near as two miles from a village, in full view of the village spires, there are worthy people whom evangelists of other denominations, or "Union" associations, find and evangelize. We have some 12,000 pastors, of whom some 7,000 are preaching in stations, twice a Sunday in one pulpit; and it is safe to say that in the same towns there are 2,000 places where the Gospel ought to be and is not preached, and that in the country neighborhoods adjacent to these towns, and not embraced in our surviving circuits, there are 5,000 more such places. That is to say, there are probably not less than 7,000 new preaching-places that could be found without effort, and out of these places 2,000 circuits might be formed that would be self-supporting after a brief period of gratuitous service. So much would seem to be easy to an effort which merely turned our attention to matters at our doors. If we could acquire a habit of looking up neglected people, if we were as zealous for the work in the older sections as Chaplain M'Cabe is for new churches on the frontier, it is scarcely too much to say that our total number of preaching-places could be profitably doubled in ten years. We know how to plant a new church in the wilderness, and we know how to abandon one in the city. We can follow a straggling body of settlers to the summits of the Rocky Mountains or the borders of Alaska, and at the same time quietly steal away from a quarter of a million of densely packed human beings in old New York. Some disagreeable speech must be indulged in, and this is a good place for it. The local-preacher problem is half solved if we can confidently say that these habits of ours are fixed-that Methodism will never return to the fields it has half gleaned-will never go back to its abandoned appointments-will never make its circuit a parish nor its district a diocese. When we have skimmed over the land, and there are no longer any frontiers, and no up-town or suburban migrations of our people, we shall have exhausted the force of the impulses which have marked our American Methodism. If these old lines are our destiny, we must have less and less use for local preachers as our churches generally advance to the ideal of self-supporting churches served by able pastors. Whenever we shall get a new impulse to return and glean on the old fields, we shall want the local

preacher. The evangelist-in some better form than the common type of well-paid leader of special revival services in wellto-do churches-is a necessity in a Church which seeks to found new societies. We must have an evangelist who does not convert souls at so much a head, nor confine his services to those wealthy quarters where a large reward may be had for doing work. Ideally the local preacher is the best type of evangelist. He is known, accredited, trained, and sent. He is neither a tramp nor a scoundrelly stranger. We take ample measures to identify, qualify, and commission him. The ideal is perfect; the practical workmanship of him would be nearer the ideal if we took pains to send him somewhere and let him feel that he represents us while he does Christ's work at our The idea of leaving any preacher to find his work command. where he may is so un-Methodistic that there can be no surprise if local preachers—who are intensely Methodistic, whatever else they may not be-should remain ministerially idle when Church authority assigns them to no duties.

We need not dwell upon the fact that our assigned ministers are abundantly employed. Bishops, presiding elders, and pastors have full hands. We cannot expect the neglected neighborhoods to be spied out by a presiding elder who must hold a quarterly conference once in forty hours, nor from a pastor who can with difficulty care for the people who attend his It is the stress of our whole system that each man shall do what he is set to do, and the result of our economy of forces is to give every man work enough. We have enlarged the districts on this line of economy, and without any special effort the station has become equally engrossing of the pastor's strength. There must be some official initiative. This might properly begin with Annual Conference committees on neglected neighborhoods, and the General Conference might order new questions to be asked of presiding elders in open Conference, such as: "Are there in your district places where new appointments may be made?" and "Have you assigned work to the local preachers on your district?" Such questions might, however, fail to reach the case, for the reason that it is not often easy to assign geographical boundaries to districts or stations. We need a Methodist map-maker, and some system of grasping the soil, as a guide to so placing our nets as to

cover the souls we seek to save. The organization of Methodism, as we have worked it, embraces persons, and not landsthe class-book and the Church-record bound our parishes. If neglected and non-paying quarters are to be cultivated, official action, shaped to employ gratuitous service on a much larger scale, must be taken by the General and Annual Conferences. But are the local preachers qualified to carry on such work? Some are not; many are. We have many unemployed or very partially employed men who are entirely capable of good work. Supply in this matter, as in others, will follow demand. We shall get our best men in the local ranks when we want them again for definite work assigned to them. Out of the wealth of personal power which we have developed, all that we need could be spared from other departments of lay work, if we distinctly called for lay preachers. All the comparative weakness of the local ministry would disappear under systematic cultivation of it as an honored arm of the service. definite ideas respecting their duties, we should easily build our local evangelist and sub-pastor on the lines of our matchless ideal. We should seek, first of all, to have him a man of much personal force. All defects except feebleness of character may be suffered. One may not even know how to read-to go to the extreme of defective education-and yet be a powerful local preacher; while no amount of drill in courses of study will compensate for the lack of manliness and strength of character. Feeble men are the curse of the pulpit; and feebleness is nowhere else so fatal as in a man pursuing secular callings and preaching to people who thoroughly know him. Whenever we can fill the local ministry with the best brain and sturdiest manhood of our laity, all lesser matters of training and furnishing will be easily settled to our liking and necessities.

From every point of view we meet with a yet more important characteristic of local preacherdom. It is unorganized and helpless. An Annual Conference is composed of peers who vote men in and vote men out. The itinerant ministry has its own character in its own hands. The local preachers have not the least organic power over their class. They are recruited by the quarterly conference, and receive the retiring itinerants. They have no word to say in the reception of

any man into their class, and their building has no back door through which they can retire unfit members. It is true they are members of the quarterly conference; but they have no conference of their own, and no status in any ministerial conference. Various efforts have been made to remedy this evil. The original idea of the district conference was a conference of local preachers; then it took the tentative form of a conference of all the preachers of a district; but it has settled into our law as a conference of all the official workers of the district. and in this form has conspicuously failed. Presuming that we want an effective unpaid ministry, one step toward getting it might be taken by organizing the local preachers by districts or conferences - better, perhaps, by conferences. These conferences of local preachers should confirm or reject the selections of the quarterly conference for new local preachers, retire from the body unfit members, and approve or reject the candidates going up to the Annual Conferences. Other duties connected with their class might be added to the foregoing. Esprit de corps cannot grow where there is no corps, and responsible duties to the Church tend to nourish the will and the capacity to discharge them with credit. It would be just to give these conferences a small representation in the Annual Conferences. and to provide for the election of a dozen or score of them to the General Conference. Such an organization is a radical change in our system, and is not to be too enthusiastically expected. An alternative plan is, to fall back upon the union of all ministers in district conferences, where the local preachers should have a separate vote on the subjects relating to their A bolder plan-which would certainly improve the quality of the local preachers-is to make all licensed preachers members of the Annual Conferences. The first plan is most favorable to the development of the lay character and power of the class. A separate organization, with decisive and important duties, would probably tend to build up those distinctive characteristics which make local preachers valuable; whereas the classing of them with the ministry tends to rob us of their power as laymen, and to increase the danger of comparative undervaluing of them as ministers. A preacher who fills a secular place and preaches gratuitously may be, for his special field, the best preacher; but neither he nor the Church

should forget that his secular calling is an element of his power.

Making him a minister in his modes of address and thinking

must generally tend to impair his usefulness.

If this study is unsatisfactory, it is because the subject involves uncertain elements. While the writer believes in a lay ministry, such as our Church law provides for, he is compelled to believe that it has declined, and is still declining. under the weight of forces that show no sign of relenting. We should need, to rehabilitate the lay preacher, a large and strong movement and some wise legislation. It may strengthen the small demand for change toward a better care of this arm of the ministry, if we remember that other branches of the Christian Church are feeling their way toward lay preachers. For example, a son of the eminent missionary, Adoniram Judson, having attempted to do a missionary work in the center of New York, has associated with himself three "assistant pastors" who speak the different tongues of our foreign population. With us, also, efforts to recover lost neighborhoods would provoke us to new zeal in cultivating local preachers. But, without such a demand for their services, it seems inevitable that this class of preachers must gradually come to be made up of licentiates and located ministers.

ART. III.—WEBER'S SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY OF THE OLD SYNAGOGUE OF PALESTINE.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

VIII. ORAL TRADITION.

The authentic exposition of the Scriptures.—The written Word of God was accompanied from the beginning with an authentic exposition for the community, called the "Oral Law," which was not to be transmitted in writing, but through tradition. The import and consequences of the divine laws are determined and explained for the community by the wise men in the Halakah; the doctrine and meaning of the historical and prophetical sections of the Scriptures in the Haggadah.

The Jewish theology distinguishes the written Law, חורה מורה שבעת and that delivered orally, חורה שבער פה. These expres-

sions were demonstrably in use in the time of Rabban Gamiel. They are often found in the older literature. This oral law, equally with the written, proceeded from God; but, in respect to the manner of it, there are two current views. According to one view, the oral doctrine was so far given with the written Torah, as this was so formed that it comprehended the oral doctrine in itself; it is indeed of infinite contents. According to the other view, God himself added to the written Torah the oral doctrine, either in its outlines or details, written (upon tables) or merely orally. Dr. Weber gives the various author-

ities that bear upon these points.

After Moses received from God, along with the Torah, which was to be written down, also its exposition, to be transmitted orally according to a predominant and older view, he began to repeat it faithfully in the tabernacle and to explain it. According to Erubin, 54b, he delivered the oral law to Aaron, who transmitted it to his sons. These taught it to the elders, and the latter instructed the people in it. But this oral law of Moses, complete in its contents and form, was not safely kept by Joshua and his Sanhedrim. In the mourning for Moses, three thousand halachoth (legal precepts) were forgotten. which even Joshua did not restore. Othniel first restored these through the exposition of the written Torah. This was generally the fate of the oral law during all ages, that it was partly lost and partly renewed. The renewal was possible because the oral doctrine is already contained in the written. out of which it can be developed.

The entire matter of tradition is called norm, literally, inquiries, discussions, and that, too, upon the Torah. For all that has been handed down orally has been acquired through inquiry and determining the sense of Scripture. This inquiry has moved in two directions. So far as the contents of the Torah were developed, the halachoth resulted; so far as the historical and prophetic contents are explained, the haggadoth (edifying discourses) resulted. The former are laid down in the Mishna and are further discussed in the Gemara. The latter especially form the contents of the Midrash in the stricter sense, or of the haggadah, the Biblical Commentary.

The relation of Tradition to Scripture.—The import of the Holy Scriptures and tradition is identical in principle, for

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the latter is essentially contained in the former. Hence the statements of both are to be accepted. But inasmuch as tradition must first be developed from Scripture, the latter holds the rank of being the source and rule of all doctrine; it is norma normans, while tradition is norma normata, that is, it must always prove itself to be contained in the Scripture. Finally, Scripture is revelation in a completed form; tradition, on the contrary, is in a state of continual development; the latter exercises itself throughout with contradictions and often ends in unsolved problems.

The Halakah (traditional law) is determined by the vote of a college of wise men, (Gittin, v, 6;) but another college, if it has greater authorities in itself, and counts more members, can annul the decision of the first college, and fix the halakah

differently.

Scripture and Tradition in practice.—Although the Scripture, in respect to its dignity, precedes tradition, yet, for practice, the oral law has a higher value than the written. For legalism, which believes that it possesses salvation in the Torah, inasmuch as through its fulfillment it obtains the promised reward, requires the Torah in a form in which it can be immediately realized in life. In such a form it lies before us only in the oral law. The higher appreciation of the oral law finds its expressions, not only in the predicates of the oral doctrine, but also in the study which is devoted to it, and in the strictness with which the oral law is held.

In the post-Talmudic tract, Soferim, 15^b, the Holy Scriptures are compared to water, the Mishna to wine, the Gemara to medicated wine. The world cannot do without the Holy Scripture, without the Mishna, and without the Gemara. Or, the Holy Scriptures are like salt, the Mishna like pepper, and the Gemara like wine. Such comparisons always represent an

ascending series from the Scripture to the Gemara.

To the high authority of the oral law corresponds the fact that its violation is severely punished by the community, and it is also believed that a divine punishment awaits its transgression. The transgression of rabbinical laws is sin. *Tosefta* to *Baba Kamma*, c. 8. In *Berachoth*, 4^b, it is said: Every one who transgresses the words of the wise is guilty of death. After giving an example of remarkable devotion to tradition, Dr. Weber

closes this part of the subject with the remark: "A Jewish saint will rather die than break the words of the wise, the traditional law. In fact, this is considered higher and holier than the simple word of Scripture."

IX. SCRIPTURE PROOF.

The thirteen rules.—Oral tradition should be susceptible of proof from the written Torah, or, at least, it should be able to lean upon it. The Scripture proof for the tradition accordingly follows, either through a regular derivation of the traditional doctrine from the Scriptures by the application of the thirteen Middoth, that is, hermeneutical principles, or by searching for such words of Scripture as contain at least an allusion to the received opinion. Tradition, as it accompanies Scripture, stands firm already before the biblical proof. The Scripture proof is simply added to it. Even what has no proof from Scripture, or goes beyond it, is valid, if it rests upon rabbinical authority.

Hillel appears to have been the first who established rules for the interpretation of Scripture. His six or seven rules were afterward increased to thirteen. But, as these rules have no special interest for us, and we have not space for them, we omit them.

The proof through intimation (hints.)—Where, in accordance with these rules of exposition, a derivation of single points of tradition from the Holy Scriptures is not possible, a hint, סיד, or support, אסמכתא, is sought in a text of Scripture for the points once established. Such hints of Scripture are found in the signs, letters, particles, in the position of the words, and in the connection of the sections of Scripture.

So far as the thirteen rules of the school are observed in Scripture proof, we can, in a certain way, speak of a regulated, unprejudiced treatment. But now, not only by means of these rules is the halakish (traditional) or haggadish (edifying) matter shown to be in the Scripture, but, in the end, satisfaction was attained by hints which the text seemed to offer, and which, according to our ideas, have no value and are purely arbitrary. Of the methods here indicated we shall cite a few examples in which the value of a word, its Gematria, (Υεωμετρία,) gives important disclosures. From Berachoth, 8^a, we learn

that there are 903 kinds of death for man. How do we know that? Through the Gematria of the word חוצאות, (issues, ends.) the sum of whose letters equals 903. Pesikta, 176a, teaches that the Gematria of the word הששון, (Satan,) gives the number 364, but the year has 365 days; therefore Satan has power over Israel every day in the year except one, the Day of Atonement, in which he has no power. The Gematria finds a peculiar application in the Kabbala, in which, from the equal value of different words, a mysterious connection is inferred to exist between them-one word is explained by the other. In Zech. iii, 8, when God promises to bring forth his servant, the Branch, nox, we are to understand by it the Messiah, because חבית has the same numerical value as מכחם, (Comforter.) in Lam. i, 16, a designation of the Messiah. Comp. Sanhedrin, 98b. In the same way it is shown by Gematria, that, in Gen. xlix, 10, the Messiah is meant; for יבא שילה, (Shiloh shall come,) has the same numerical value as משח, (Messiah.) Dr. Weber closes this chapter with the remark: "So manifold are the ways of rabbinism to make the Holy Scriptures declare whatever was already established through tradition, or as the result of a rabbinical way of thinking. In truth, tradition shows itself as the moving force to which the Scriptures hold the relation of servitude."

X. THE RABBINICAL AUTHORITY.

The order of Wise Men.—For the authentic exposition of the Torah, and the guidance of the community according to the Law, there is need of the regular constituted office of the rabbis and elders, which, according to the rabbinical view, came into existence even in the days of Moses. The rabbis and elders govern the community as the wise men, that is, as the lawyers. The order of the wise men unites in itself, as the order especially consecrated to God, ecclesiastical, priestly, and prophetic power and dignity; enjoys from God an especial communication of his Spirit and honor; it should honor itself by its deportment, and it enjoys also especial honor and benevolence from the community. It is graded according to the knowledge of the Torah that is possessed; the grades of rank are accurately distinguished by external marks of honor.

Moses was God's pupil; but he himself became the founder

and the head of a learned order which has, from the days of Moses, continued through all time, and has spiritually guided the people. Upon this order of learned or wise men, חכמים, now alone devolves the guidance of the people. Hillel, the head of the wise men, therefore bears the name prince of Israel. Shabbath, 31^a. The Sanhedrim is called the scepter of Judah, Sifre, 145^b. The wise men in Israel, accordingly, exercise a royal power over the people. Baba Bathra 18, tells us that, since the destruction of the temple, prophecy has been taken away from the prophets and transferred to the wise men.

This order of wise men is now in a special sense consecrated to God, and forms a hierarchy. The elders are the property of God. In distinction from the wise men, the plain Israelite is called הריום, ιδιώτης, not endowed with honor and dignity. Comp. Tosefta to Sanhedrin, c. 4. In reference to the מצוה, (commandment,) it is there said even the high priest and king, in comparison with the wise man, pass for πτισ, an Ιδιώτης.* The יעם הארץ, is not to be confounded with the יעם הארץ, (a plebeian,) for in this designation there does not lie the meaning that he does not know and keep the law; but it is said only he does not belong to the order of the wise men, and has no share in their privileges. To the order of the wise men there belongs a special gift of the Spirit, for the spiritual guidance of the people. Even Moses had communicated to the elders a portion of the Holy Spirit without being made poorer by it. Bammid, Rab., c. 15. From that time one has lit his candle from that of the other, whereby it is said that the Holy Spirit has been transmitted, in the order of the wise men, from one to the other, and it is still always communicated in the ordination, סמיכה, (laying on of hands,) just as Moses once delivered it to the elders. Comp. Sanhed., 13. It was required of the wise men to observe a certain decorum in deportment and It was not lawful for them to talk with a woman, not even with their own sister, nor to sit at table with the unlearned. The community bestowed upon the wise men special honors. The honor of a rabbi precedes that of one's father. The wise man takes precedence of the king, priest, and prophet.

^{*}This rabbinical use of ἰδιώτης for a plain citizen, devoid of rabbinical culture, explains the meaning of the same word in Acts iv, 13, where both the English Versions wrongly render "ignorant."

revile a wise man after his death is said to deserve excommunication; whoever despises the disciple of the wise man, says *Shabb.*, 119b, for that man there is no cure, for these are now the prophets, the anointed of the Lord. They are also free from the burdens of taxation.

According to the Jewish view there was always a law-school, while we know historically that the school system in the strictest sense did not come into existence before Hillel and Shammai. At all events, since that time the law schools were the spiritual central point of the life of the people. The most important schools for the development of traditional law were those of Hillel and Shammai, which existed until the destruction of the temple; their decrees, especially those of the school of Hillel, no later school can annul. After the year 70 several schools arose in Palestine and Babylon, among which that one held the first rank in which a head from the house of Hillel taught.

The threefold power of the Wise Men.—A threefold power is conferred upon the Jewish lawyer (or theologian)—a legislative, a judicial, and a teaching power.

If a wise man has acquired sufficient knowledge of the law, and is called by a society to be its president, he receives for the exercise of his office the laying on of hands or ordination. This ordination is performed by three elders, (Tos., Sanh., 1,) whereby the ordained person receives the title of rabbi, and therewith the authority to teach and to pronounce sentence even in matters of punishment.

To the wise men *legislative* power is attributed and exercised through the Sanhedrim. For the Jewish idea is that the council established in the days of Moses, and directed by himself, at all times gives the law to Israel. In *Sifre*, 25°, the College of the Elders which Moses established at the command of God is expressly called Sanhedrim, and it is said that it is to be a perpetual institution.

The judicial power is a second part of the prerogatives of the wise men. In this department the highest tribunal is the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem, consisting of seventy-one members, with two or three secretaries, a Nasi (chief) as presiding officer, and an Ab-Beth-Din (father of the place of judgment) as deputy (or vice-president) of the Nasi, sitting on his right

hand. Besides this, there was a small Sanhedrim, consisting of twenty-three members, which every town containing more than a hundred and twenty inhabitants had power to establish. There was also a small tribunal consisting of three men elected by the society and confirmed by the Sanhedrim.

The authority to teach is the third prerogative of the wise men. This teaching consisted in faithfully imparting the doctrines which these rabbis had learned from their prede-

cessors who were considered authorities.

XI. THE JEWISH CONCEPTION OF GOD.

The effects of Legalism on the comprehension of the idea of God.—The fundamental principle that the Law is the only and essential revelation of God to men, and legality the essence of religion, determines necessarily the Jewish conception of God. For this fundamental principle can be comprehended as follows: Religion is right conduct before God. While we say: Religion is the communion of man with God. According to the latter conception, God reveals himself in communion with man, because he, in his holiness, is love. According to the first conception, he remains the absolutely sublime, beyond man and the world, separate from them and persisting in himself, since the moment of holiness is exclusively emphasized. From this fundamental view result the peculiarities of the Jewish conception of God.

From the fundamental view of God as the absolute, the Jewish theology draws two further inferences, which must be distinguished as peculiarities of the Jewish conception of God, and at the same time antithetical, namely: abstract Monotheism, and abstract Transcendentalism. The former has developed and established itself in opposition to the Trinitarian revelation of a Deity in three persons; the latter, in opposition to the personal indwelling of God in the human race. This view of the divine nature is the older, appearing with special intensity in the Targums. By its side, later, appeared a new view contradicting it, in which another side of legalism exhibits itself, a view which brings the absolute nature of God, elevated above all, down into finiteness, while it makes God the God of the Torah.

The unity and sublimity of God .- The older Jewish con-

ception of God, which appears in the Targums, stands nearer to the Old Testament view than the later, but it suffers from a certain monism and transcendentalism which makes it incapable of admitting the internal Divine activity of life which lies at the basis of the trinitarian conception of God—incapable, also, of being adjusted to God's appearing in history, which is attested in the Old Testament.

The unity of God is the fundamental confession of Judaism in opposition to heathen Polytheism. But Jewish Monotheism has also appeared in opposition to the Christians' trinitarian conception of God; especially in opposition to the Jewish Christians, who, in the literature of the Talmuds and Midrashim, bear the name *Minim*, (ממנים).

The Judaizing of the conception of God.—The decision with which legalism maintains the Law as the absolute revelation of God, beyond time as well as in time, has led to this: that the conception of God became at a later period Judaized by its being determined through the principle of the nomocracy, and God's being conceived as the God of the Torah—a reaction against transcendentalism, but which did not lead nearer to the goal of truth.

The Old Testament represents God as the living Personality through whose word all things have been created. This dogma is the inalienable inheritance which the Jewish theology has received through the biblical revelation and through the facts of the history of Israel. From this it follows that a divine thinking and willing must be supposed which was from the beginning and before the world, an object correlative to him in which he himself knows and wills. This, his other self, (literally, this other of himself,) this eternal object for his selfactivity, is, according to the Jewish theology, the Torah, which has proceeded from God's thinking. It is the object of his eternal love-its realization the end of his willing. With this view the Jewish theology has abandoned the way of simple negation, the hitherto empty conception of God it has filled with life, and has supposed of the Divine Personality another in which God manifests himself. The Torah is the purport of his life; in it his thinking, willing, and doing exercise themselves. On these points Dr. Weber gives ample quotations from the Jewish writings, and concludes this subject with the

remarks: "The older conception of God of the Targums, though more abstract and empty, was, nevertheless, more pure, and stood nearer the biblical conception even of the Old Testament. In the very midst of the interval between that older form of the conception of God and this Judaized one, lie historically the development of the trinitarian conception of God and the revelation of the God-man and his kingdom. This revelation Judaism rejected. The Judaizing of the abstract and empty conception of God was the religious-historical consequence."

XII. THE HEAVENLY WORLD.

The habitation of God and his glory.—What the Jewish theology teaches concerning the habitation and glory of God does not stand in opposition to the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, but it makes prominent the absolute sublimity and

separateness of God still more sharply than these.

The habitation of God.—According to the rabbinical doctrine there is above the earth a sevenfold heaven, of which the highest is called Araboth, and is the dwelling of God and of the righteous, as well as of the angels who minister before the Lord, but not in a promiscuous way. In the midst of these spheres of the highest heavenly space is situated the habitation of God, the holy of holies of the highest heaven. In the habitation of God stands the throne of his glory, created before the world. Magnificent descriptions of this throne of glory are given by the rabbinical writers. The Divine Glory that dwells upon this throne is, in its nature, light as bright as the light of all the suns. It is said, "One of his many suns thou caust not look at; how wilt thou gaze at his glory?"

The heavenly spiritual world.—Some of the angels are not independent beings, but a mere efflux of the glory of God, whose circumference they, as it were, form; therefore they are of a transitory nature. Others, "the angels of his service," have a permanent existence, are graded according to their dignity, and are innumerable. They serve for the glorification of God, and act as mediators between him and the world. They were formed by God on the second day of creation. On the other hand, the daily creation of angels, which Chagiga, 14, mentions, rather the continual formation of angels from the

fiery stream Dinûr—which flows under the throne of glory—or from the breath of the mouth of Jehovah, refers to the angels of a transitory nature. They sing a hymn in the presence of God, and vanish. At the head of the ministering angels stand Michael and Gabriel. The angels are not only the ministers or instruments of Divine providence in the world, but they further serve as powers which direct and move nature, and work in and through it. The only language which the angels understand is Hebrew, which, being the language of the Torah, is also the language of the heavenly world. From this it follows that the service of the angels belongs only to the people of Israel. Israel is the sphere of the angels. Among the people of the world the demons rule.

The relation of the spiritual world to God.—In the older Jewish views found in the Targums there is an absolute distance between God and the world of spirits. The position of the angels is one of subordination and absolute dependence. But in the later Jewish theology, in which God appears as Judaized, he enters into communion with the angels, who form, as it were, his heavenly council. These he addresses: "Let us make man in our image." This council of angels sometimes protest against the divine decrees, and procure their revocation.

XIII. MEDIATORIAL BEINGS, (HYPOSTASES.)

Introductory Remarks.—From the old Jewish conception of God as a being absolutely beyond us, it follows that mediating persons are necessary for the intercourse of God with other heavenly beings, and especially for the divine existence and action in the earthly world. For such a God cannot immediately hold intercourse with his creatures or work in them, but all the activity and presence of God in the world must be by mediation. These mediating beings are, 1. The Metatron; 2. The Word, Memra of Jehovah; 3. The Condescension, Shekinah of God; 4. The Spirit of God, Ruach hakkodesh; 5. The heavenly Voice of Revelation, Bath Kol.

The Metatron.—The Metatron is the ministering spirit that stands next to God, on one hand as his confidant and representative; on the other, as the intercessor (or representative) of Israel before God. Both, nevertheless, only within the heav-

enly sphere.

Respecting the origin of Metatron, it is best to understand it as μετάθρονος Hebraized, or μετατύραννος, that is, the one next after the ruler. The Metatron is not eternal, neither had he an existence before the world. The tradition which is found in Targum of Jerusalem I, on Gen. v, 24, identifies the Metatron with Enoch. He is mentioned along with the angels who buried Moses. He is called a messenger of God. On the other hand, he is exalted above the angels and placed nearer to God than all other spirits. He is also represented as God's secretary and even representative. To come to the Metatron is to come to God; to see him is to see God. In Exodus xxiii, 21, where it is said, "My name is in him," the commentators remind us that here Metatron is to be understood, who is the representative of the Almighty.

The Memra of Jehovah.—In the Targums a hypostasis (person) is found who bears the name מימרא, (Memra,) and stands in the place of God wherever he appears as ruling and working in history and in personal intercourse with the holy people. In Midrash Rabba it is described how, when the ten commandments were proclaimed, the Word went forth from the mouth of God, and repaired to every Israelite in his tent, and asked him whether he would accept it on the specified terms. As soon as the Israelite answered in the affirmative and accepted the Word, the Dibbur (Word) kissed him on the mouth. is the basis for understanding the Memra of Jehovah of the Targums, the Word that has proceeded from the mouth of God, which, as a divine potency working within the history of salvation, has, in the view of Judaism, become a person, and stands as a mediating being between God and his people. In proportion as the Palestinian theology removed God from the affairs of the world, it transformed the Memra into an independent organ of all the divine operations in history.

With the Chaldee paraphrasts the *Memra* had to appear wherever corporeality or corporeal movements are attributed to God, or where mention is made of what occurs in the divine mind, where the face of God, the eyes, mouth, voice, and hand of God, are named; where he is described as walking, standing, seeing and being seen, and speaking. Dr. Weber gives numerous passages in proof of the statement. When God speaks or swears to himself that he will do any thing,

there he speaks or swears through his *Memra*, for what he himself thinks or does in himself is indeed absolutely concealed. The prophets received their commission from the *Memra* of Jehovah. As to the possible relation of the *Memra* of Jehovah to the Messiah, although the former, in Jonath. on Zech. xii, 5, (comp. *Targ. Jer.*, I, II; Gen. xlix, 18,) appears in Israel's redemption as the Mediator, as the Messiah always is in the history of Israel—yet Jonath. on Isaiah ix, 5, 6, clearly distinguishes between the Messiah and the *Memra* of Jehovah. The former is the servant of God, faithful to the law, who sets up and governs the kingdom of David as the kingdom of the Law and of Peace; but it is the *Memra* of Jehovah through whose activity it finally extends so wide.

The Shekinah of God.—According to the older conception of the Targums, the Shekinah is, in distinction from the Memra, the impersonal sign of the presence of God; according to the view of the later Targums and Midrashim, it represents God in his presence, as in his government of the world.

For the correct understanding of the older conception of the Targums of the divine *Shekinah*, it is important to observe that this conception is closely connected with that of the divine glory. *Targ. Jer.* has on Exod. xxxv, v: "And Jehovah manifested himself in the clouds of the glory of his *Shekinah*," etc. In *Pesikta*, 2^b, it is said: "The splendor of the *Shekinah* filled the tabernacle." In *Targ. Jer.* I, it stands for "The splendor that goes forth from the face of God and the visible sign of his presence." This close connection of the *Shekinah* with the glory of God shows that the *Shekinah* itself is really nothing else than the glory of God originally concealed in heaven, which descends upon the earth, and here forms the visible sign of the divine presence and activity.

In the older Targums the *Shekinah* is especially distinguished by its impersonality from the *Memra*, which is a person. But in the later writings of the Jews, Talmud and Midrash, the *Memra* of Jehovah entirely disappears, and the *Shekinah* alone is recognized as the mediator of the divine presence and activity in the world. The *Shekinah* is not simply a sign of the divine presence and communion, but also a subject of divine activity, a bearer of the presence of God, dispensing blessings. If ten persons pray together, the *Shekinah* is in their midst.

The Holy Spirit and the Voice of Revelation.—As the Memra and Shekinah effect the presence and activity of God among his people and in the world, so does the Holy Spirit especially effect the divine operations upon the human spirit. He is light from the light of God, a word of revelation proceeding from God which grants to office-bearers the necessary illumination for each case; or he is to the pious a special sign of divine grace. The Bath Kol, on the contrary, is a voice of revelation (oracle) from heaven for the decision in cases of uncertainty respecting legal questions, a slight compensation for the ministry of the Holy Spirit of which the later generation was

no longer worthy.

The Holy Spirit.—Among the ten things which, according to Chagiga, 12ª, were created on the first day, is the Spirit of God, which moved upon the waters. Onkelos understands by the expression "Spirit of God," "a spirit from Jehovah," by which is indicated a ministering spirit sent forth from God, and the idea of a procession from the nature of the Godhead is excluded. Thus, Jonathan says on the passage, "I will pour out my spirit," "I will pour out the spirit of my holiness." The synagogue avoids the expression, "God's spirit." Is this spirit a personal being? Maimonides calls it a divine power which was active in the authors of the Holy Scriptures. In Wayyikra Rabba, c. 6, the Holy Spirit appears as the defender of Israel, whose merits he recounts before God; likewise in Debbarim Rabba, as synegor, (defender.) Scripture expressions are cited with the words, "The Holy Spirit says." It proceeds from God and makes proclamation, Bammidbar Rabba, c. 17; three judicial sentences it confirmed through a loud call, Kohel. Rabba, 81d; it rested upon Joseph from his youth until his death, and guided him into every thing pertaining to wisdom as a shepherd guides his flock. All these expressions presuppose personality. Sometimes the Holy Spirit is considered masculine; at other times feminine. When, however, it appears as a power proceeding from God, it is impersonal. It is stated that every thing which the righteous, as such, do, they perform through the Holy Spirit. Kohel. Rabba, 84ª, says that the Holy Spirit, after the destruction of the Temple, ascended to God, and in the second sanctuary is no longer present; or that he, as we have before seen, since the time of Malachi

no longer works by inspiration as in the authors of the Holy

Scriptures.

The Bath Kol.—Between what the Talmudic and Midrash literature call the Holy Spirit and the Bath Kol (daughter of the voice) there exists an internal relation, on account of which both conceptions pass over into each other. According to Bereshith Rabba, a Bath Kol cried out to Solomon, respecting the mother of the living child, (1 Kings iii, 27:) "She is certainly its mother." It is likewise said, respecting the words of Samuel, when he laid down his office, (1 Sam. vii, 5:) "'Jehovah is witness,' that there came a Bath Kol and said, 'He is witness." According to Josephus, Antiq., xii, 10, 3, the Bath Kol once came out of the Holy of Holies. The essential distinction between the earlier revelation through the Holy Spirit and the later one through the Bath Kol lies in this: The former, as the spirit of prophecy, or as the leader to wisdom, teaches, not simply details, but continuous matter; while the Bath Kol gives in single oracles divine indications and hints, answers to questions, decisions in difficult cases, but never continuous instruction.

XIV. THE CREATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE WORLD.

According to the Jewish theologians, the world was created as the theater in which the Law was to be realized in the life of a created humanity. Matter is represented as a substance not altogether pliable in the Creator's hands. The present creation is only the result of several creative attempts. In Bereshith Rabba, c. 9, it is inferred from Gen. i, 31, that God created and destroyed successive worlds until he created the present ones. In the preservation of the universe, the old Jewish theology held that both natural and supernatural causes co-operate.

XV. THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

Creation and primitive condition of man.—According to the biblical doctrine, man is the image of God. This doctrine the Jewish theology has in general held fast, but it has weakened it, while it has put the image of the angels in the place of the image of God. Man consists of body and soul; the former is taken from the lower elements, from dust, but organized for the fulfillment of the Torah; the latter originates from above. The Creator has given to the body of man a power which can

determine him to resist God, called in Gen. vi, 5; viii, 21, the evil inclination, (יצר הרע). The soul, the other constituent of man's nature, originates from above. The Bible is traducian. The Talmud and Midrash, on the contrary, represent quite decidedly creationism and the doctrine of pre-existence, (präexistentianismus.)

All human souls which, until the time of the Messiah, enter into human bodies, already existed even before the creation; they are found in a conservatory, out of which they are called forth to unite with the human bodies which they are to animate. Sifre, 143b; Aboda Sara, 5a, etc. These souls are deemed truly living, active beings. Man's primitive state of purity, happiness, and glory was intended by God to be perpetual. He was destined for eternal life; only transgression made him mortal. His happy state lasted but six hours.

The moral condition of man.—According to the rabbinical doctrine, man was originally endowed by his Creator both with an inclination to good and an inclination to evil. According to Bammidbar Rabba, c. 22, the former dwells in the right part of the human breast, the latter in the left of it. Man's task now is to make the good principle prevail over the bad. He will succeed in doing this if he employs himself with the Torah.

The fall of man.—Respecting the first sin of men, the Talmud and Midrash have the following tradition: At the same time with Eve, Satan was also created. Beresh. Rabba, c. 17. The Jewish theology calls the serpent, in Gen. iii, the old serpent, and designates with this expression the devil. That a spiritual being acted through the serpent appears clearly in the tradition preserved in Jalk. Shim., Bersh., 29, that Sammaël, the highest angel of the throne, had induced the serpent to deceive Eve. The rabbis describe fully the great changes introduced by the fall of man and his heavy losses. By the fall good conduct has become more difficult, but on that very ground more meritorious. Free-will, even in regard to conduct toward God, remains in man even after the fall. There is hereditary depravity* (Erbschuld,) but no hereditary (original) sin, (Erbsünde.) The fall of Adam has caused the death of the entire

^{*} Erbschuld literally means hereditary debt, and may also mean hereditary guilt; but standing in contrast with Erbsünde, (original sin,) it appears to have the meaning we have given it.

race, but not sinfulness in the sense of a necessity to sin; sin is the result of the decision of each individual. As far as experience goes, sin is universal, but in itself, even after the fall, it is not absolutely necessary.

XVI. THE CONDITION OF SINFUL MAN.

The origin and nature of sinful man.—At the conception of each individual, God determines what he shall be with the sole exception of his moral character; but whether he is to be righteous or wicked, that God does not determine; that alone he commits to the hands of man, according to Deut. xxx, 15.

Before the soul enters the human embryo, an angel shows it the righteous in the garden of Eden, and the wicked in *Gehenna*, (hell,) and points out to it the results of obedience or disobedience to the Torah and the other laws of God. The soul itself is represented as pure, but the body impure.

The relation of soul and body.—As the soul lived by itself before it entered the body, and will live by itself when it leaves the body, and only with reluctance entered the earthly body, its relation to the latter is of an external character. It seeks to withdraw itself from the body during life. It ascends into heaven during sleep, and returns in the morning as a new being.

The freedom of the will and the universal sinfulness.—Without doubt the Talmud and Midrash attribute to man in principle, even after the fall, still freedom of will, and suppose not only the possibility of the sinlessness of man; but they also really regard single men—though only as an exception—as sinless. The commission of at least single sins, nevertheless, forms the rule. A man's worth or worthlessness is measured according to the number and nature of his transgressions. The fact that the occurrence of single transgressions do not necessarily damage the state of essential righteousness is important for the conception of sinfulness.

Sin and depravity, (schuld.)—The synagogue teaches that in the creation of man there was implanted in him a disposition toward sin, but that no inherited sinfulness really exists before the sinful act. Every one establishes his own sinfulness through his own sin, that is, through the transgressions which he commits. On these points Dr. Weber gives numerous extracts from rabbinical authorities.

XVII. PUNISHMENT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF SIN.

Sin and evil.—As the Jewish theology considers sin as a single fact, without fixing its attention upon the organic connection between the act and the entire moral condition of the actor, so it also refers the punishment of sins generally to definite, sinful, single acts, and thereby disconnects the punishment from the organic connection with the sinfulness and damnableness of the generations. To a single sin corresponds, as a punishment, a single evil; and, vice versa, where a single evil is found, there it points to a definite single act on the part of the one upon whom it has come. The question in the Gospel of John ix, 2, proceeded from this view; for as a child itself generally sins only after reaching mature age, one born blind can scarcely have brought his suffering upon himself, except, perhaps, in the extraordinary case which Midrash Rabba reports, on Ruth iii, 13, that a child sinned in its mother's womb; otherwise a sin of the parents must be the cause of the evil. The answer of Jesus rejects at once all these suppositions and the view in which they have their root. But the passage is the oldest proof of the view of the Jewish theology respecting the relation of sin and evil.

Sin and death.—Death has been caused through the fall of Adam, and has since reigned in the world, and will reign, until the Messiah shall remove it. This is a chief and fundamental doctrine of the synagogue. On this doctrine Dr. Weber gives ample quotations from the Jewish authorities.

Sin and the demons.—Jewish theology recognizes the existence of evil angels, at whose head stands Satan. Their employment is to lead men into sin, and their power is described as very great. These evil beings are, however, under the control of the Almighty. In opposition to the tradition that Satan was created on the sixth day, is another tradition that he was the highest of the angels of the throne, and made use of the serpent to deceive Eve. The other devils also are represented as fallen angels. The Jews also believed in magic.

XVIII. REVELATION AND THE HISTORY * OF SALVATION.

God's plan of salvation.—That man still lives after the fall, and is preserved for salvation, has its ground in this, that God,

* We omit the discussion on this part of the subject.

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already in advance when he formed the idea of the creation of man, established for his conduct toward him two rules, modifying each other, the so-called מרח הדים, (rule of justice,) and the הרחמים, (rule of mercy.) God proceeds with man according to justice as Elohim, but not before he, as Jehovah, has allowed mercy to rule. Repentance, and the study and the practice of the Torah, are the means of salvation.

XIX. RIGHTEOUSNESS BEFORE GOD AND MERIT.

The conception of Zekuth, (righteousness.)—In the theology of the Talmud and Midrash respecting justification, the conception of Zekuth (purity) is of the highest importance. The word has two meanings: that the divine demand shall be satisfied, and that reward may be justly claimed in consequence of this. Man is pure so far as he fulfills the Law, and guilty so far as he violates it.

Righteousness from fulfilling the Law.—When any one fulfills a precept of the Law, the synagogue says he has a precept. These precepts, which he fulfills, form his moral possession and speak before God for him. When any one transgresses a precept he has a sin. The wish to perform a command is equivalent to its performance. But the mere purpose to commit a wicked act is not reckoned as an act. God determines his relation to man according to man's relation to the Torah. Whoever has fulfilled all the precepts of the Law is truly a righteous man. And although it is possible that a man may fulfill, from the beginning to the end of his life, the whole Torah, yet, in reality, there is no righteous man who does not sin. 1 Kings viii, 46. Hence God acts upon the principle that a man is to be considered righteous or wicked according as his good or evil deeds preponderate. All a man's expressions, even those said in a jest, are recorded in a book. The justification of men is taking place every day.

Righteousness by means of good works.—A second means of obtaining justification before God is the practice of good works, especially almsgiving and the works of love, respecting which Pesikta, 124*, says, those who perform works of love may take

refuge under the wings of the Shekinah.

The different relation of individual men to God.—The Jewish theology recognizes three classes of men, namely, the

righteous man, the wicked, and the middling man, (indifferent,) who sometimes acts wickedly, at other times virtuously.

The vicarious righteousness of the fathers.—On account of the uncertainty which exists whether one has kept commandments enough and possesses works of love in a sufficient degree to be counted righteous before God, and therefore can hope to be heard in prayer, protected in danger, and to be received into eternal life in death, it is advisable to supplement his own righteousness, as far as possible, by the righteousness of others whose lives have been perfect, that is, of the fathers. The merits of the fathers are made available: 1. When the condition of man before God is to be examined, that is, when he prays before God. 2. In times of decision respecting life or death. 3. Especially in God's annual time of judgment.

The merit of the saints.—Along with the merits of the fathers, the merits of great righteous men still living have a saving power for their contemporaries before God. In the first place, they procure for their contemporaries, who are deficient in merit, a respite; secondly, they enter as intercessory into all the public distresses and cares of each individual; thirdly, they themselves possess the power to bring miraculous help.

The reward of works.—Every precept has its definite proportionate reward; for every good work God has a storehouse of his own. Even the godless receive for their performance of easy commands—for they do not perform difficult ones—the definite reward. The performance of a duty on the part of men seems to be a gift to God, and the reward as God's gift. The reward is partly temporal and partly eternal. Man enjoys here the interest of his good works, but only in the future world the capital of good works, namely, giving lodging to travelers, visiting the sick, exact observance of prayer, early visiting the school-house, education of sons for the study of the Talmud, and the judging of one's neighbor according to his good side.

XX. THE ATONEMENT.

The conception of the atonement.—The consciousness that for transgression the divine forgiveness may be granted without any compensating performance on the part of man, is not entirely wanting in the theology of the synagogue. But this

forgiveness is so limited that it is quite practically annulled. The conception of atonement found in Talmud and Midrash is, therefore, not the biblical one. The biblical row is the covering of sin, through which it is withdrawn from the divine presence and still placed under the divine indulgence, where God himself provides an atonement, which the sinner, needing an atonement, appropriates to himself in faith. On the contrary, the atonement, according to the Talmud and Midrash, is to undo sin and to put the man back again in the position which he had before the transgression for which atonement was to be made.

Dr. Weber gives the views of the ancient rabbis on the atonement under the headings: Repentance and the day of atonement; Suffering and death as a means of atonement; The vicarious sufferings of the righteousness; The atonement through good works; and concludes this subject with the following remarks under the heading: Results of the doctrine of justification and atonement:

"Two facts stand out prominent as results at the conclusion of the doctrine of salvation: the multiplicity of the means which are employed for obtaining of righteousness and expiation of sin, and the uncertainty of the sinner respecting his relation to God in spite of, or, indeed, on account of, this multiplicity. For the attainment of righteousness, not merely is the fulfillment of the commandments required, but also still special good works; and one's own performances simply are not sufficient, but also the merits of the fathers as well as those of contemporary greater righteous men are demanded. And not for atonement does the daily repentance nor the great repentance of the day of atonement suffice. There is needed for the expiation of certain sins still special suffering, even that of death; besides this, special good works must make reparation for sins committed; and all these performances, as a general thing, the individual cannot allege; but the atonement also demands the co-operation of the righteous whose sufferings, death, and good works appear for others; so great is the multitude of works through which righteousness before God, and thereby certainty of salvation, is laboriously obtained. And what is the consequence? The certainty of salvation is not obtained, the assurance of the religious consciousness, joyfulness toward God, is

wanting to the sinner, and fear accompanies him to death, even beyond this. Of this fear Talmud and Midrash give many an eloquent testimony."

XXI. THE CONSUMMATION OF EACH INDIVIDUAL.

Death and the condition of death.—The decree of God, formed on New Year's day, and sealed on the day of atonement, that a man shall die, is for the wicked irrevocable if the measure of his sins is full. Then death is simply the execution of punishment. The death of the righteous, on the contrary, which atones for their own sin as well as for that of the community, follows at the time when the decree of God demands it for the good of the community, and if the righteous man is perfected, that is, has atoned for all his sin and can receive the reward of his righteousness without abatement. Death is characterized as the departure of the soul from the The souls of the righteous ascend to God, whence they proceeded, although even still for a time, attracted by a longing for the body, they often return to the grave. The souls of the wicked wander about in a restless condition. The result is that the connection of the soul with the body, this earthly form of existence, in the consciousness of Judaism, is more highly valued and therefore held faster than the hope of a union of the soul with God. Even the souls of the righteous fully depart from the body only gradually; the souls of the others ever seek it again. Herein is reflected the uncertainty of salvation after death. He who is not sure of heaven holds fast to the earth. The entrance into heaven is certain to only a few; the majority at death are not yet ripe for heaven, and yet they are not to be absolutely excluded from it.

The abode of souls in Gehinnom, (hell.)—The common religious consciousness relegates souls when they leave the body into Sheol as their present abode. Only those which at their departure are completely righteous, ascend to God and receive their portion in heaven. In the theology of the Talmud and Midrash, Sheol is not to be distinguished from Gehinnom, (hell.) The Kabbalistic theology of the Middle Ages divided Sheol into two parts, Gehinnom and the lower Paradise, which latter is distinguished from heaven. In Luke xvi, 22, et seq., Hades and Paradise are separated by an impassable gulf as between heaven

and earth. In the same way the older Jewish view knows only of a Gehinnom for the wicked and a Gan Eden (Garden of Eden, Paradise) for the righteous, but knows no place between the two. Chagiga, 15a: He has created righteous men, He has created wicked men, He has created Gan Eden, He has created Gehinnom; each man has two portions, one in Gan Eden, one in Gehinnom. If the righteous man at death has been found worthy, he receives his own portion and that of the other (the wicked) in Gan Eden; if the wicked man at his departure is found guilty, he receives his own portion, and that of his (righteous) associate in Gehinnom. Gehinnom has its name, according to Kimchi, (on Psalm xxvii, 13,) from the valley of Hinnom, at Jerusalem, where they were accustomed to bring all impure things, especially all bones, where they also kept a perpetual fire to burn up the impurities. Gehinnom, accordingly, is the place for the impure, just as Gan Eden is the place for the pure, and the end for which souls descend there is either to be purified or to be consumed by the fire. The first destiny is for the members of the House of Israel; the latter for the heathen. The pre-supposition for the thought that for Israel Gehinnom is a purgatory, forms the view that all who are provided with circumcision as the sign of the covenant can not remain eternally separated from God, but must finally be again added to the community of God. In Gehinnom they suffer the pain of fire, and this pain is their repentance. They must pay in hell what justice demands. This repentance lasts, according to Edijoth, ii, 10, Pesikta, 97b, Echa Rabba, 48b, in general twelve months-six months in the flame and six months in the cold. All Israelites, says Baba mezia, who descend into Gehinnom, ascend into the Garden of Eden, with the exception of three characters: the adulterer, the one who puts his neighbor to shame, and the one who gives his neighbor a disgraceful name.

The lot of the blessed in Gan Eden.—Paradise is destined for the righteous, to give them there the reward of their works. It was created, according to Pesachim, 54°, and Nedarim, 39°, before the world, that is, it forms a constituent part of God's eternal plan of salvation, for there at least first for individuals the communication of salvation comes to a close. Paradise is the place where God holds communion with the righteous, and

where they consecrate themselves to his worship. This communion is so intimate and immediate that the righteous are nearer to God than the angels. The rabbis give the most glowing descriptions of the vastness and splendor of Paradise, which are chiefly of a physical nature. In Paradise there are eight hundred thousand kinds of trees. In its midst is the tree of life, whose branches cover the whole of Paradise. This tree has half a million kinds of taste, of which no two are alike. To each righteous man is assigned an abode, according to the degree of his glory. There are said to be seven orders of the righteous. Thus there are degrees in the glory of Paradise according to the grade of worthiness.

XXII. THE REDEMPTION OF ISRAEL THROUGH THE MESSIAH.

The Messiah .- To that which God created before the world belongs, according to Beresh. Rabba, c. 1, also the name of the Messiah. He is an essential element in the divine plan of salvation. For it is the destiny of the Messiah to appear at the end of the world's history, when all pre-existing souls shall have entered into a human existence, and to bring them to a close, but to lead Israel to the completion determined by God. His advent is the object of the faith and hope and ceaseless prayer of Israel. In the prayer of the eighteen blessings in the first Beraka, (blessing,) supplication is made for the appearance of the Goël. But Goël is the Messiah. Zunz places the origin of the first three and last two Berachoth (blessings) in the time of the second temple. Gottesd. Vorträge, 367. Accordingly the hope for the Messiah and the prayer for him is an essential element of the old Jewish religion and theology.

The preliminary conditions for the appearance of the Messiah are repentance and good works. Sanhedrin, 97^b, says: "All the appointed times (in which the Messiah should have come) have passed away, (without his coming,) now the matter (his advent) only still depends on the repentance and good works of Israel."

It is supposed that the duration of the world's existence, corresponding to the days of the week, embraces six thousand years, which the eternal Sabbath follows. So Aboda Sara, 9, and Sanhedrin, 97. The first two thousand years include the time without the Law; the third and fourth, the time under the

Law, from the time that Abraham taught the Torah in Harran; and the fifth and sixth thousand, the days of the Messiah. More exactly, they reckon the days of the Messiah from the year 172 after the destruction of the temple, that is A. D. 242. Another determination for his coming was A. D. 531.

There will be signs of the Messiah's coming, both among the people of the world and in the community of Israel. The time that precedes the Messiah will be a period of dissolution for the nations of the world, the time of חַבְּלִי הַפִּשִׁי, (throes of the Messiah.) Shabbath, 118^a; comp. Matt. xxiv, 8. The Messiah is born in the midst of pains, in the time of war, famine, pestilences, and perplexities of all sorts, and earthquakes and other fearful phenomena. In Israel, when the Messiah comes, every thing will have reached the lowest degree of degradation. The son will mock his father, the daughter will arise up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and one's foes will be those of his own household.

Elijah, the forerunner of the Messiah.—To raise up the Jews from their deep degradation, and prepare them for the reception of the Messiah, Elijah is to make his appearance. His coming is promised, in Mal. iii, 23, to precede that of the Messiah. Comp. Matt. xvii, 10, 11. Also Sirach, full of longing, refers to his advent, xlviii, 10, 11. He is to appear three days before the Messiah comes. When he comes he will first announce his arrival to the Sanhedrim. Comp. John i, 19, et seq. When he announces peace to the world, he will raise his voice upon the mountains so high that it will be heard from one end of the earth to the other. He will shed light upon the descent of the Jewish families so that each family will know to what tribe, stock, and family it belongs. He will purify those who are not of pure descent, that they may be united to the community of God. So the language of Mark in reference to Elijah: "He restoreth all things," (ix, 12.) He will also strive to reform the moral and religious condition of the people, and at the same time decide legal questions which the rabbis were not able to solve. The Jews also expected that Jeremiah would appear along with Elijah as his forerunner. Matt. xvi, 14. Jeremiah is to be understood by "the prophet" in John i, 21, 25; vii, 40; Mark vi, 15. In 4 Ezra ii, 18, Isaiah also appears as a forerunner and assistant of the Messiah.

The entrance of the Messiah into the world.—The Messiah is in no way to be confounded with the Memra of Jehovah of the Targums, or with the eternal wisdom. That the Memra of Jehovah must be distinguished from the Messiah, the Targum of Jonathan, on Isaiah ix, 5, 6, shows altogether irrefutably. When Midrash on the Proverbs calls the King Messiah one who was created before the creation of the world, the sense is that it was God's eternal purpose to create the Messiah and to send him into the world. From this ideal pre-existence, the real pre-existence of the soul of the Messiah in the גוף הנשמות, (conservatory of souls,) is to be distinguished. Any other pre-existence according to the older Jewish theology is inconceivable. The later Jewish theology alone admits a real existence of the Messiah in Gan Eden. He is to enter into his earthly existence by being born of a woman. He is to be Son of David, (Sanhedrin, 93ab,) a descendant of Ruth. Beresh. Rabba, c. 98, remarks, on Gen. xlix, 10: "Shiloh is the King Messiah; the sovereign authority remains with the tribe of Judah until the coming of the Shiloh, i. e., the Messiah." The descent of the Messiah from David is through Hillel and his successors. That the Messiah is a son of David in no other sense than all other sons of David, we see, for example, from the Targ. Jonath. on Isaiah xi, 1. From a pre-eminence over angels being attributed to the Messiah, his supernatural nature does not follow, for even the righteous, according to Sanhedrin, 93°, are greater than the holy angels.

The secret growth and activity of the Messiah.—Entirely corresponding to the old tradition which represents the Messiah as an unknown person appearing upon the theater of his activity, the Jewish theology says that he will come from the North when he publicly appears to restore Israel. Wayyikra Rabba, c. 9; Bammidbar Rabba, c. 13. As Moses grew up in Pharaoh's house without its knowing that it was sheltering the future avenger of Israel, so will also the Messiah, who will exercise retribution on Edom, (the Roman Empire,) dwell in the capital of the Empire without at all being known. This period of quiet and secret existence is not lost for the Messiah and his work. He is growing and becoming worthy of his work of redemption. The future Redeemer himself, first of all, devotes himself most zealously to the knowledge of God and

his Law as well as to the practice of the Law. He will experience severe sufferings, for these are necessary to make a righteous man perfect. But nowhere is it hinted that the Messiah will be sinless. Even he sins, even he repents and becomes perfectly righteous through action and suffering. He will bring Israel out of his last captivity into his own land. This will not be accomplished without the execution of judgment upon the world-power and the breaking of the yoke of Israel's captivity. After this has been accomplished, the Messiah will restore Jerusalem and the sanctuary, establish his kingdom over the nations, but renew Israel through the law. Targ. Jonath. on Isaiah. Finally, the glory once lost through Adam's fall will be restored to the people, and thus passes the splendor of the days of the Messiah over into the glory of eternity. Beresh. Rabba, etc.

In this brief sketch of the Messianic work there is no interruption through sufferings and death. This forms no part of the Messianic work. But how does this sketch correspond to Isa. liii? The Targum of Jonathan, which is here our standard, and which, according to the testimony of Aben Ezra and Abarbanel, in their commentaries on Isa. liii, the Wise Men followed for a long time, refers the section Isa. lii, 13-liii, 12, to the Messiah. Dr. Weber, after giving the exposition of Jonathan, remarks, "Nowhere, not even in the last verse, does the Targum find the vicarious sufferings and death of the Messiah as an atonement for the sins of his people."

The work of the Messiah, the redemption of Israel from foreign dominion, the establishment of sovereign authority over the nations, the renovation of Israel as the people of God, are executed, according to the old Jewish theology of Palestine, without being interrupted by atoning sufferings and the death of the Messiah. His power rests, not as the prophet teaches, upon his atoning sacrifice, but upon the personal righteousness which makes him worthy to execute the work of the Messiah.

The Messiah the son of Joseph.—As the servant of God, or the Messiah, according to Isaiah liii, must suffer and die for his people, and as this could not be believed of the Son of David, a Messiah of less dignity must precede him, who, through his death, atones for the sins of Israel, and opens for King Messiah, with his people, the way for the establishment of the kingdom of glory. This is the Messiah, the son of Joseph, called also the son of Ephraim. This inferior Messiah is to assist the real Messiah, just as Aaron was an assistant to Moses. Dr. Weber thinks that these later pictures of an inferior Messiah were occasioned by the appeals of the Christians to Isaiah liji.

The redemption of Israel and the first resurrection .- As the Israelites were delivered from Egyptian bondage by Moses, so will the Messiah redeem the Israelites from servitude to the nations among which they have been dispersed since the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar. He will manifest himself to Israel, and then conceal himself for forty-five days, after which he will again appear to execute his work. First the world-power must be crushed. This, in the old Jewish theology, is considered the fourth and last kingdom of the world, (Aboda Sara, 1b;) that is, the universal Roman Empire. This kingdom the Jewish theology generally calls the kingdom of Edom. In the days of the Messiah a powerful ruler will stand at the head of the Roman Empire. He is called Armilus, will be notorious for his wickedness, and will unite in himself, in the highest degree, hostility to God and hatred to the people of God. Before the beginning of the Messianic kingdom, the kingdom of the world will fall, and Rome at the same time will be destroyed.

By the overthrow of the world-power Israel is made free and can be collected, and from their dispersion among all the nations be brought back to their home. According to the prevailing view, the ten tribes will then be united with the two tribes.

As all Israel is to be united in the Messianic kingdom, those cannot be wanting who before this time have descended into Sheol, and are there waiting for redemption. All those who have the sign of the covenant have claims to redemption and to a share in the Messiah's kingdom. After the captives have been brought out of Sheol by the Messiah they and all the righteous who are waiting for redemption will be restored to this temporal life, that is, they will rise from the dead. That this is to take place, according to Jewish tradition, after the exiles shall have been brought back home, Abarbanel testifies in his

Commentary on Isaiah xviii, 3, and Kimchi on Isaiah lxvi, 5. Others suppose that the resurrection of the dead will take place, not at the beginning of the Messianic age, but in the course of it. To the Messiah God gives the key of the resurrection of the dead. The Messiah is called Jinnon, (from 11', to raise,) because he will wake up the dead. The resurrection will take place in the Holy Land. The righteous who are buried outside of this land will be rolled thither through subterranean passages. The dead will be gradually raised to life at the successive blasts of a great trumpet, which the Holy One will blow, and which will be heard from one end of the earth to the other. The resurrection body will be composed of bones, flesh, and skin. The starting-point of this new body is the lowest bone of the spinal column, (the coccyx,) which the rabbis suppose incapable of destruction. The resurrection body, in material and organization similar to the present body, will, nevertheless, according to Sanhedrin, 92a, be immortal. The living Israelites gathered from their dispersion, and the dead brought to life, will enjoy in the Holy Land the glory of the Messianic age.

XXIII. THE KINGDOM OF THE MESSIAH.

The Messianic age.—The Messiah will bring collected Israel to external glorification and dominion and to spiritual consummation. These three things form the contents of the days of the Messiah, or Messianic age. With this Messianic age begins עולם הבא, (the world to come,) or עולם הבא, the everlasting life which is predicted by the prophets. At the end of the Messianic age follows the last and general judgment, with which time passes over into eternity. In respect to the duration of the Messianic age the traditions widely differ, giving from forty years to seven thousand.

The building of Jerusalem and the sanctuary.—In the Messianic age Jerusalem shall be rebuilt in great splendor and of vast extent, to become the metropolis of the whole world. The Messiah will rebuild the temple in great splendor. The temple service will be renewed, and the laws pertaining to it will be enforced, and also the traditions. The Messiah will not give a new law, but a new and full exposition of difficult

legal questions.

The righteousness and blessed condition of the community.

—The Messiah is called the Lord our righteousness, because he procures for the people a righteous condition before God, and leads them to the fulfillment of the law. Through the Messiah peace exists between God and his people. This condition of the people before God is not subject to change.

The dominion of the Messiah over the people of the world.

—The Messiah, the Son of David, is destined to become the ruler of the world. All the prophecies which speak of a kingdom of God, which is to embrace the whole world, are referred to the Messiah's rule over the world. So Gen. xlix, 10. Shiloh is the Messiah to whom the kingdom will be given. The Targums contain not a few references to the dominion of the Messiah. The world-kingdom which the Messiah will establish takes the place of the Roman Empire. It is supposed that the nations of the world, even in the Messianic age, will further continue to exist as such. But the statements respecting Israel's religious relation to the nations differ widely.

Gog and Magog and the end of the Messianic age.—While the Messiah in Jerusalem is ruling over the nations, a rebellion of Gog and Magog* is made against him, and especially against the law of God which the nations are no lorger willing to bear. With the overthrow of these enemies of the Messiah, the general judgment takes place and the world comes to an end.

XXIV. THE FINAL CONSUMMATION.

The resurrection and judgment of the world.—Through the rebellion of the nations of the world against the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom comes to an end, and now begins the judgment of the world and the separation of the ungodly people from the earth, which is renovated and assigned to the people of God as their sole dwelling-place. According to the ancient Jewish theology, there will be a resurrection of the righteous only, as a part of their reward. The judgment upon the heathen and those of Israel deemed like them, is continually taking place, while they are dying and descending into Gehinnom to receive their just punishment. This is also the view which is found in Luke xv, 23. Gehinnom, which is for Israel

^{*}Magog is the country of the ancient Scythians, of which Gog is king.

a purgatory, is for the heathen the place of punishment. At the same time there are such in Israel who likewise fall into Gehinnom without hope because they are viewed as heathen. Erubin, 19^a, says that all Israelites will be brought by Abraham out of Gehinnom, with the exception of the one who has approached a Samaritan woman, and of the one who has made himself uncircumcised so that he may no longer be known as a Jew. There are also sins, not to be forgiven, which consign even the Israelite forever to Gehinnom.

Those who have fallen into Gehinnom await, first torture and pain, but in the end complete annihilation. In respect to the duration of punishment, the house of Hillel says, (Rosh Hashshana, 17a:) The apostates of Israel who have made known their apostasy (by omitting to put on the phylacteries,) and the apostates from among the nations of the world who have shown by great sins their abandonment of God, go down into Gehinnom and are punished for twelve months; after which their bodies are entirely burnt up and also their souls, and the wind carries away the ashes under the soles of the feet of the righteous, according to Mal. iii, 21. But the Minim, (Jewish Christians,) and the betrayers (of their people), the epicureans, who deny the divine origin of the Torah and the resurrection of the dead, and separate themselves from the ways of the community, and who, like cruel overseers, have made themselves an object of terror in the land of the living, who have sinned and have caused the multitude to sin, like Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and his companions, these go down into Gehinnom, and are punished in it for all generations. In Sanhedrin, x, 3, it is said that the generation of the great flood was long ago annihilated. It appears, then, that a part of the wicked are to be punished forever.

Although judgment is continually executed in the death of individuals, yet at the close of the historical development of this world, a judgment of a universal kind will take place, which we may designate as the judgment of the world. Of this judgment Dr. Weber gives a copious description from the old authorities, and concludes with the remark: "Accordingly, the nations of the world, through the judicial sentence of God, will be delivered to annihilation through the fires of gehenna. And thus afterwards the earth, in the sole possession of Israel,

and freed from the ungodly nations of the world, can be renewed and become the seat of eternal life."

The new heaven and the new earth, and the new human race.

—From the old creation a new, pure one is to proceed—a new heaven and a new earth—luminous and pure, in which there will be no sinner. This new earth will be perfect and harmonious, and will afford the conditions of an existence free from trouble. There will be no destruction and death, neither will there be strife in the animal world, nor will the peace between men and the animal world ever be disturbed. Upon the earth dwells a new humanity, whose moral renovation is effected by the eradication of the property, (wicked inclination,) from the heart and the implanting of a new heart.

The Olam Habba, (future world.)—The future world belongs to Israel to the exclusion of the nations of the world. To this every Israelite has an expectancy, unless he has lost it by apostasy. Respecting the form of life in the future world there are two different views—the one spiritual, according to which, in the eternal life, none of the functions belonging to the sensual body will any longer exist. In opposition to this, a more materialistic view is given in Tanchuma, Chayzé Sara, 8: In this world the righteous beget good and bad, but in that world all (their children) will be good. And we further find in passages the repast of the righteous praised, which must be understood literally, as the food consists of the flesh of the Leviathan.

But whatever may be thought to be the forms of existence in the future world, one thing is fixed: that this existence is a happy and glorious one, because it is a life in full communion with God. This happiness and glory of the righteous are in their nature one and the same, but of different degrees.

ART. IV.—THE WINES OF THE BIBLE.*

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

WE must now enlarge the sphere of our inquiry, and examine the grounds on which, at this day, the sanction of Christ is claimed for the use of alcoholic beverages. What are the alleged facts in support of which testimony is offered? Careful analysis reduces the specifications to three: (1) Jesus Christ made fermented wine; (2) Jesus Christ commended fermented wine; (3) Jesus Christ used fermented wine.

Before we enter upon the detailed examination of these several charges, some

III. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

will be necessary concerning an assumption which is common to them all, and which, if it be conceded, settles the whole question at once and affirmatively. It is the assumption that there was and is but one kind of wine, and that fermented, and, when taken in sufficient quantities, intoxicating. Chancellor Crosby says, + "There is not a chemist or a classical scholar in the world who would dare risk his reputation on the assertion that there was ever an unfermented wine in common use. knowing well, that must preserved from fermentation is called wine only by a kind of courtesy (as the lump of unbaked dough might be called 'bread,') and that this could never, in the nature of things be a common drink." Prof. Bumstead makes similar assertions; t declaring that the theory "of an unfermented wine has failed to commend itself to the scholarship of the world. 3" And Dr. Moore remarks, | "The history of the doctrine of unfermented Bible wine cannot be carried back beyond a few decades; and this fact furnishes a préjugé légitime against it." As to the argument from scholarship, it is sufficient to say, there are many and eminent authorities, inferior to none and superior to most in scholarship, who do un-

^{*} In order to give the entire argument we have allowed this Article to greatly exceed our usual maximum of twenty pages.—Ed.

^{† &}quot;A Calm View of the Temperance Question."

^{‡ &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, pp. 62, 109, 113. § Ibid., p. 115.

[&]quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 81.

hesitatingly affirm the existence and use of unfermented wine in Bible lands and times. They have as complete access to the evidence in the case, and are as competent judges of its validity and bearing, as either of the authors we have quoted or as any of the authorities whom they have cited. We need only mention Moses Stuart,* Eliphalet Nott, + Alonzo Potter, George Bush, Albert Barnes, & William M. Jacobus. Tayler Lewis. George W. Samson, ** F. R. Lees, ++ Norman Kerr, ++ and Canon Farrar. SS As to the préjugé légitime, this is not the first instance in which it has been appealed to for the sanction of error. There has rarely ever been a bad cause in whose support it was not invoked. The almost universal interpretation of the Bible in defense of the doctrine of passive obedience was pronounced a préjugé légitime against the right of resistance to tyrants in Charles the Second's day. That interpretation, however, has gone for very little since the Revolution of 1688. The almost universal interpretation of the Bible in support of the system of human slavery was deemed a préjugé légitime against the right and duty of abolition, a quarter of a century ago. That interpretation, also, has been worth very little since the crisis of civil war and the act of emancipation. But the principle upon which the non-jurors argued the divine obligation of passive obedience, and the slaveholders defended the divine authority of human chattelism,

*"It was a very common thing to preserve wine in an unfermented state, and when thus preserved it was regarded as of a higher and better quality than any other."—Letter to Dr. Nott, New York, 1848, p. 44.

† "That unintoxicating wines existed from remote antiquity, and were held in high esteem by the wise and the good, there can be no reasonable doubt. The evidence is unequivocal and plenary."—"Lecture on Temperance," London edition, p. 85.

† The language of both of these distinguished men to E. C. Delevan, Esq., on the subject was, "You have the whole ground."—"The Enquirer," Aug., 1869.

§ "The wine of Judea was the pure juice of the grape without any mixture of alcohol, and commonly weak and harmless."—"Commentary on John ii, 10."

| "All who know of the wines then used, will understand the unfermented juice of the grape."—"Commentary on John ii, 10."

Wine "simply meant the liquid that came from pressing the grape. It was not fermenting fluid, but grape juice,"—"The Advance," Dec. 24, 1874.

** "Divine Law as to Wines," passim.

†† "Wines, Ancient and Modern," passim. ‡‡ "Unfermented Wine a Fact."

§§ "Wine means primarily the juice, and often, as I believe, the unfermented juice, of the grape.—"Talks on Temperance," p. 41.

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is precisely the same as that now employed in upholding the theory of a divine sanction for intoxicating wine. The old lesson must once more be learned, that a traditional interpretation of Scripture is not conclusive proof of any doctrine, but is often an obscuration of the truth of God. It is needful, therefore, to "pray against that bias which, by importing its own foregone conclusions into the word of Scripture, and, by refusing to acknowledge what makes against its own prejudices, has proved the greatest hinderance to all fair interpretation, and has tended, more than anything else in the world, to check the free course of divine truth." * In every age the Lord has some new light to break forth out of his Holy Word,† and in the next generation we may look to see it break as clearly on the duty of total abstinence as we have seen it shine in the generation just passing on the right of human freedom.

Without attempting any further appeal to authority in this case, we will proceed to examine as carefully and candidly as possible the evidence we have of

1. The existence and use of unfermented wine in ancient times.

(1.) And the first is found in the references both of Greek and Roman writers to wine which they declared would not intoxicate. For example, Aristotle ("Meteorologica," iv, 9,) saysof the sweet wine of his day, (οἶνος ὁ γλυκύς) that it did not intoxicate, (οὐ μεθύσκει). And Athenæus ("Banquet," ii, 24,) makes a similar statement. Prof. Bumstead says that this wine was fermented and called sweet only "from the presence of considerable untransformed sugar." Dr. William Smith says § that it signified "wine positively sweet." It may have included wine which had undergone some degree of fermentation, but in general it was free from intoxicating properties, as the authorities just quoted indicate. This was probably true of the vinum dulce of the Romans, described by Columella, ("De Re Rustica," xii, 27.) The same author ("De Re Rustica," iii, 2,) and Pliny also, ("Natural History," xiv, 2,) mention a wine made from the grape, inerticula, (literally, "that

^{*} Bishop Ellicott in "Aids to Faith," p. 421.

[†] Robinson's "Address to Pilgrim Fathers."

^{‡ &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 62.

^{§&}quot;Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

produces no effect,") which Pliny says did not cause intoxication - temulentiam non facit. Dr. Moore attempts to break the force of this testimony by saying * that "it is not of the wine, but the grape, that Pliny says it alone does not cause intoxication. And it is not of the wine, but of the grape, that he tells us that we ought to call it sober (sobriam)." But any lexicon would tell him that these terms were applied to the grape because they describe the qualities of the wine made from it. So Columella distinctly states, (iii, 2,) unde etiam nomen traxit. Still, Dr. Moore insists + that the wine made from this grape "was certainly fermented," because, forsooth, "Pliny tells us that it could grow old, which must or unfermented grape juice could not." This is simply not so, as we shall see. Against both these statements of Aristotle and Pliny, and all similar ones, the objection is brought that it is only in "the comparative sense, and not absolutely," that their testimony as to the non-intoxicating character of certain wines is to be taken. Prof. Bumstead compares them § "with similar statements in regard to lager beer and other beverages, which, it is well known, contain alcohol and can intoxicate if a sufficient quantity be taken. Such statements are popular and not scientific." The standard of comparison in this case, however, is the distilled and fortified liquors of modern times. But a very different standard was in the minds of the ancient authors whom we quote. They knew nothing of these stronger drinks. Distillation was not discovered until the eleventh or twelfth century of the Christian era, | and the wines of antiquity were, in general, of small alcoholic power. In fact all wines, until within the last hundred years, were comparatively weak. The analyses of Neumann in the last century have determined this point. They show that the very strongest of mediæval wines contained only about twelve per cent. of spirit, and the average scarcely more than six. The distilled and fortified drinks of to-day average from twenty-five to fifty per cent. of alcohol. A wine which, in comparison with the ordinary standards of antiquity was pronounced weak, must have been devoid of any intoxicating power.

^{* &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 105. † *Ibid.*‡ *Ibid.*, p. 106. § "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 61.

∦ Richardson, "Cantor Lectures on Alcohol," p. 27. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

(2.) But, however that may be, the objection has no pertinency when the pure juice of the grape freshly expressed is drank. This is the first and simplest product of the grape. and would naturally be the earliest artificial beverage.* It is drank to this day by the peasants in wine-bearing districts. + Its use is clearly traceable as far back as the times of the Pharaohs. This custom is certainly indicated in the record of the chief butler's dream, (Gen. xl, 11:) "And Pharaoh's cup was in my hand; and I took the grapes and pressed it into Pharaoh's cup, and I took the cup and gave it into Pharaoh's hand." The objection that dreams are "not very good historical evidence, t is not well taken. The falsity of a dream to real life lies not in its separate images, but in their incongruous relations. The argument for "the unreliability of this particular dream," from the rapidity with which the several events transpire, is answered by the fact that they are events such as actually do occur, and that, too, in precisely the order set forth in the dream. The marvelous fidelity of both the dreams of the chief baker and the chief butler is proved by "so trifling a detail as the bakemeats being said to have been carried on the head," which "is true to Egyptian life, for, while the monuments show that men carried their burdens less often on their head than otherwise. bakers are a marked exception." § The literal accuracy of the dream of the chief butler is maintained by Tuch, Michaelis, ¶ Rosenmüller,** Henry, ++ Clarke, ++ Lowth, ++ and Stuart. ± But without relying upon the authority of these scholars, or making any "prosaic" §§ appeal to the picture exhumed at Pompeii representing Bacchus squeezing grape clusters into a wine-cup, or resting our case on the probability that Herodotus refers to the freshly expressed juice of the grape by ἀμπέλινος olvoc. we are able to cite irrefragable proof that the chief butler's dream pictured a literally correct trait of Egyptian

^{*} Vide Barry, "Wines of the Ancients," London, 1775, p. 27.

⁺ Vide "Life of Dr. Duff," i, 392; Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 39.

t "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 76.

[§] Geikie, "Hours With the Bible," p. 467.

[&]quot; Com. zur Gen.," sec. 513. ¶ "Mosaic Laws," iii, 120.

^{** &}quot;Biblische Alterthumskunde," iv, 219. †† Com. in loco.

tt "Essay on Prize Question Respecting the Use of Spirituous Liquors," p. 31.

^{§§ &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 77.

II "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 112.

life. Dr. Ebers has recently discovered, on the walls of the temple of Edfu, a picture of the king, standing cup in hand, while underneath is the inscription: "They press grapes into the water and the king drinks." *

(3.) Again, it is without doubt or question that both the Greeks and the Romans had a beverage which consisted of the pure, unfermented juice of the grape, whether freshly expressed or carefully preserved does not just yet concern us. This is referred to frequently by the classic authors of both tongues, and is conceded on every hand by classical scholars of every shade of opinion. For confirmation of this statement we need only refer the reader to Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," article "Vinum;" or to his "Dictionary of the Bible," article "Wine." The Greek beverage was known by the name of γλεῦκος. It is not affirmed or admitted that it was not known under other names. That point is postponed. It was known by this title. Aristotle frequently mentions it, ("Meteorologica," passim.) Suidas, in his lexicon, defines it τὸ ἀποστάλαγμα τῆς σταφυλῆς ποὶν πατηθῆ. "the droppings from the cluster before it is trodden." Josephus, ("Jud. Antiq.," ii, 52,) applies the term to the wine represented as being pressed out of the bunch of grapes by the chief butler into Pharaoh's cup. Prof. Bumstead admits + that "it was sweet from lack of vinous fermentation," and again he calls it t "the newly expressed juice of the grape." From the supposed necessities of exegesis in the New Testament (Acts ii, 13) Alford, & followed by Dr. Moore, | attempts to widen its meaning to include a certain amount of intoxicating property. But this is contrary to classic usage. The corresponding Latin term, with a precisely similar signification, is mustum. It designates a pure and unfermented beverage made of the grape. It is so explained by all the authorities. It is so used by all the Roman rustic writers, Cato, Columella, Varro, and by Pliny. Indeed, so strongly do these authors insist upon its special characteristic of freedom from fermentation-Pliny, e. g., saying, ("Natural History," xiv, 9,) "Sic

^{*} Eber, "Durch Gosen zum Sinai," p. 480. Geikie, "Hours With the Bible," p. 465.

[§] Com. in loco. "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 110.

[¶] Vide "Harper's Latin Dictionary," 1880, in loco.

—scil. fervere—appellant musti in vina transitum"—that Dr. Moore and others declare, "this distinguishes must from wine, the differentia consisting in its having undergone fermentation."* This much, therefore, is settled without controversy. The people of antiquity did have a form of unfermented grape juice which they used as a beverage.

We advance now another step, and consider the fact that

(4.) The ancients were familiar with the methods by which fermentation + is prevented. Grape juice contains two leading ingredients, sugar and albumen or gluten. The former is composed of the three chemical elements, carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; the latter is composed of four elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. Nitrogen in all of its compounds is an unstable element, disposed to disengage itself from one union and to seek another. Thus it hastens the decay of vital organisms and tends to the formation of new substances. The decay of the gluten in the grape juice affords the necessary conditions for the reception and growth of the yeast germs which are floating every-where in the air, and in the presence of which the sugar is gradually converted into alcohol, while carbonic acid escapes from the liquid. Now there are four or more different methods by which this process may be prevented and the grape juice preserved fresh and unfermented.

a. The gluten may be separated from the other elements. This substance, enclosed in minute cells, is located in the lining of the skin and in the envelope of the seed of the grape. By careful manipulation the flowing juice in which the sugar is concentrated may be released without disturbing the fermentable pulp. This principle was understood by the ancients and applied in practice. They had a drink which they called $\pi\rho\delta\chi\nu\mu a$, ("Geoponica," vi, 16,) or protropum, ("Natural History," xiv, 9.) Of this article Pliny says: Ita appellatur a quibusdam mustum sponte defluens, antequam calcentur uvae, "So the must which flows out of its own accord, before the grapes are trodden, is called by some." Such a liquid, oozing

^{* &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 101.

[†] We use the term throughout this article for what is strictly "vinous" fermentation, unless the contrary fact is indicated.

[‡] Nichols, "Manual of Chemistry," pp. 143, 181. Schützenberger, "Fermentation," p. 18.

spontaneously from the skin of the grape, and composed almost entirely of the saccharine portion of the juice, could not have been quick to ferment. But Dr. Moore says,* "Pliny expressly tells us that it was allowed to ferment," (Hoc protinus diffusum lagenis suis defervescere passi. N. H., xiv, 9.) does not mean, however, that fermentation was essential to protropum-it is called that before any thing is said about its undergoing that process-but that protropum was allowed to ferment, after which it was known under another name. The value of careful handling of the grapes to prevent the escape of the gluten is indicated by several items in the directions and descriptions of Roman writers on wines. They frequently insist that the grapes shall be trodden by foot, (calco,) rather than crushed by the heavy beam, (prelo.) Thus Columella, (xii, 37,) in a recipe for making vinum dulce, directs that the grapes shall be trodden, (calcato,) and the juice kept free of every thing which has come through the press, quod habeat ex tortivo. And Pliny, in describing the process of making passum, says, (xiv, 9,) Tunsasque [uvas] leniter exprimunt, "They gently crush and press the clusters." The juice which was obtained from this careful pressure, before the grapes had been fully trodden, was known as the mustum lixivium, and was preserved for drinking in its unfermented state. ("Geopon.," vi, 16; Columella, xii, 41.) †

When the gluten has been expressed with the saccharine juice it is still possible to effect a separation. By means of filters the fermentable pulp may be strained out. This is accomplished with complete success by modern apparatus.‡ It is not certain that the ancients possessed equally effective methods. It is probable, however, that during the whole history of winemaking attempts in this direction have been made. It was, doubtless, with this end, in part at least, in view that the early Egyptians employed the presses which are represented on the tomb-walls of Beni-Hassan. "The most simple consisted merely of a bag in which the grapes were put, and squeezed by means of two poles turning in contrary directions; a vase being placed

^{* &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 104.

⁺ Vide Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

[†] Vide "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Ed., art. "Fermentation." Also Ure's "Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines," i, 697.

below to receive the falling juice." * There was another press, nearly on the same principle, but more elaborately constructed. Both strained as well as expressed the juice of the grapes. The Latin writers refer to the use of strainers or filters in the preparation of wines. The cola or cloth sacks, according to Virgil, ("Georg.," ii, 240-245,) were a regular accompaniment of the prelum or wine-press. Pliny says, (xxiii, 24,) Utillissimum (vinum) omnibus sacco viribus. Meminerimus succum esse qui fervendo vires musto sibi fecerit. "The most useful wine for everybody is that whose strength is destroyed by the filter. We must remember that there is a juice which, by the fermenting of the must, has made to itself strength." That in this instance Pliny refers to the use of the filter to destroy—for such is the force of frango—the strength of wine in which fermentation had already begun, is admitted. But it does not follow that because it was used for this purpose it was applied to no other. The passage we have quoted indicates its employment to separate the succum, which may refer to the gluten or fermentable substance, as well as to strain out the faces. It is of some significance in this connection that the Delphin notes on Horace i, xi, where the expression vina liques, "filter your wines," occurs, say, Veteres nempe mustum priusquam ferbuisset per saccum toties colabunt, etc. "For of a truth the ancients were in the habit of straining the must repeatedly through a filter before it had fermented." It is certain that wines were filtered to deprive them of their intoxicating power. Pliny says, (xiv, 22,) Ut plus capiamus (vini) sacco frangimur vires. "That we may drink the more wine we destroy its strength by the filter." So Plutarch, ("Sympos.," viii, 7.) after speaking of the process of filtration in very much the same words as Pliny, and telling us that it was frequently repeated, says, "The strength being thus withdrawn, the wine neither inflames the head nor infests the mind and the passions."

But this is not the only method by which fermentation may be prevented.

b. The expulsion of the moisture is equally efficacious. Says Prof. Ditman,† "No fermentable subject will ferment except

^{*}Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," i, 45.

^{† &}quot;Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Ed., art. "Fermentation."

in the presence of water, and unless it be kept by means of that water in contact with some specific ferment." There are two ways in which the removal of the water is effected. The grape may be dried before the skin is broken, and, preserved in that condition, after any lapse of time it will afford material for an unfermented beverage. By the simple soaking of dried grapes or raisins in water many churches provide the wine used in celebrating the Lord's Supper. Rev. Henry Homes, American missionary at Constantinople, informs us.* that in Asia Minor and Syria the grapes are carefully dried, and then the "raisins are boiled for two or three hours to make a refreshing drink, called 'sweet water,' (khosab, literally, boiled water.) It has no intoxicating qualities, for the proportion of the water is large, and it is drunk only when freshly made." Mr. Edward W. Lane, the distinguished Arabic scholar and traveler, says: + "Nebeedh, prepared from raisins, is commonly sold in Arab towns under the name of zebeeb. I have often drunk it in Cairo, but never could perceive that it was in the slightest degree fermented." This raisin wine was the Roman passum, (from pando, so called because the grapes were spread out to dry.) Columella, (xii, 39,) Varro, (Ap. Non. 551, 27,) and Pliny (xiv, 9) describe this kind of wine. Dr. Moore quotes Columella, (xii, 39,) ‡ "Deinde post xx. vel xxx. dies cum deferbuerit in alia deliquare," etc., to prove that it was fermented. But in this case, as in that of protropum, already mentioned. the statement merely indicates the fact that passum was sometimes allowed to ferment, not that fermentation was essential to its being passum. On the contrary, Columella says, (xii, 39,) Prelo [uvas] premere passumque tollere, "Squeeze the grapes in a press and take away the passum." It was passum immediately, before any fermentation could have taken place.

The most common and successful method, however, of expelling the moisture is by inspissating the fresh juice. By boiling, the water is evaporated and fermentation prevented. The people of Syria to this day boil down the simple grape juice "until it is reduced to one fourth of the quantity put in."

^{• &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," May, 1848.

Notes to the "Arabian Nights," vol. i, p. 215.

^{‡ &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 105.

[§] Rev. Mr. Homes in "Bibliotheca Sacra," May, 1848.

The product known as "nardenk is used as a syrup for a beverage, one part of the syrup to from six to fifteen parts of water. It ordinarily has not a particle of intoxicating quality." "In the manner of making and preserving it, it seems to correspond with the recipes and descriptions of certain drinks included by some of the ancients under the appellation wine." The modern Italian wine known as vino cotto is boiled, and has been found by chemical analysis not to contain a particle of alcohol. When drank it requires weakening with water.* The Arabic dibs is the product of boiling grape juice. † Archbishop Potter (A. D. 1674) says: ‡ "The Lacedæmonians used to boil their wines upon the fire till the fifth part was consumed; then after four years were expired began to drink them." He cites as authority for this statement Democritus, a Greek philosopher, and Palladius, a Greek physician. Virgil ("Georg." i, 295) pictures the housewife as

> "—— dulcis musti vulcano decoquit humorem, Et foliis undam tepidi despumat aheni."

"She boils down by the fire the moisture of the sweet must, and skims off with leaves the wavy froth of the simmering caldron." Varro, Columella, and Pliny describe the boiled wines of the Romans, and give them different names according to the extent to which evaporation was carried; as, carenum, one third; defrutum, one half, (so Pliny; but Columella and Varro say one third;) sapa, two thirds. § These were distinguished by the Greeks under the general names of εψημα, γλύξις, and σίραιον. Prof. Bumstead and Dr. Moore both dismiss them with the general denial that they were "ever used or designated" as "wines." As regards the latter point we shall see further on. As regards the former, it is true Pliny says, (xiv, 9,) Omnia in adulterium mellis excogitata, "They were all contrived for the adulteration of honey." But he does not say they were limited to that use. We know they were not. They were employed to give body to lighter and fermented wines, (Col. xii, 39,) and they also "entered as ingredients into many drinks." | It is probable that they were themselves simply

^{*} Van Buren, "Gospel Temperance," p. 105, note.

[†] Van Lennep, "Bible Lands," p. 120.

^{‡ &}quot;Grecian Antiquities," Edinburgh, 1818, ii, 360.

Smith, "Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

diluted and drank like the Syrian nardenk, the Persian duschab,* the Italian vino cotto, and the French vin cuit. We know that the practice of diluting wines was universal in ancient times. Rome had a public establishment for this purpose, known as the Thermopolium. It furnished its patrons hot water and cold; the hot, according to Sir Edward Barry, to dissolve their more inspissated and old wines. This process was made necessary, not only by the strength, but quite as much by the sweetness and consistency of the wines. This is the key, we think, to the interpretation of the oft-quoted passage from the "Odyssey," (ix, 196 f.,) concerning the wine which the priest, Maron, gave to Ulysses. Prof. Bumstead says, t "It was so strong that a single cup was mingled with twenty of water." Homer says nothing of the sort. He calls the wine (l. 205) ήδὺν, ἀκράσιον, θεῖον ποτόν, "a sweet, unadulterated, divine drink;" (l. 346.) μέλας οίνος, "black wine;" (l. 360,) αίθοπα οίνον, "dark wine." And he says of Polyphemus, to whom Ulysses offered it, (1. 208:)

Τὸν δ' ὅτε πίνοιεν μεληιδέα οἰνον ἐρυθρόν, Έν δέπας ἐμπλήσας, ὕδατος ἀνά εἰκοσι μέτρα Χεῦ'.

"But when he drank this honey-sweet, red wine, filling up one cup, he poured in it up to twenty measures of water." There is not a word here or elsewhere about its strength, but every one of the adjectives employed indicates just such excessive sweetness, thick consistency, and dark color as would be produced by heat. The celebrated Opimian wine, which Pliny tells us (xiv, 4) had in his day, two centuries after it was made, the consistency of honey, may have been an inspissated article. Such, very likely, was the Tæniotic wine of Egypt, which Athenæus, in his "Banquet," (i, 25,) tells us had such a degree of richness ($\lambda i\pi a\rho\rho\nu$) that "it is dissolved little by little when it is mixed with water, just as the Attic honey is dissolved by the same process." A further fact in this connection calls for

^{* &}quot;The Persians sometimes boil the duschab (a syrup of sweet wine or must) so long that they reduce it to a paste for the convenience of travelers, who lay in a stock of it for the journey, cutting it with a knife, and diluting it with water to serve as a drink,"—"Travels in Muscovy, Tartary, and Persia," by Adam Olearius, Embassador for Holstein, by Wicquefort, lib, v, 802.

^{† &}quot;Observations on the Wines of the Ancients," London, 1775, p. 165.

^{‡ &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 62.

notice. As grape juice boils at 212 deg. Fahr., and alcohol evaporates at 172 deg. Fahr., it is evident that, if there were any in the liquid, boiling would expel it.

c. Fermentation may also be prevented by the exclusion of the air from the grape juice. The researches of Pasteur and Hallier * have established the fact that the spores or germs of the yeast plant are introduced by the action of ordinary air into the fermentable fluid. So that if the grape juice be inclosed in some air-tight receptacle fermentation will not occur. The ancients were acquainted with this fact, if they did not understand its theory. It was their custom to take the earthen amphora, Greek κέραμος, carefully line it with pitch, and having filled it with the fresh juice, seal it and then sink it in water or bury it in the earth. In this way it was preserved from the access and action of the atmosphere. We find directions for this process in Cato, ("De Re Rustica," 120,) Columella, (xii, 39,) Pliny, (xiv, 9,) Plutarch, (Q. N., 26) and the "Geoponica," (vi, 16.) Columella introduces his directions as follows: Mustum ut semper dulce tanguam recens permaneat sic facito. "That your must may be always sweet as when it is new, thus proceed." He closes by saying, Sic usque in annum dulce permanebit, "It will thus remain sweet for a whole year." Dr. Moore is at some pains to point out + that this remark indicates the sense in which semper is to be understood, both in this passage and the one soon to be quoted from Pliny, and intimates that must could be preserved in this way only for a year. If it were so, that would be all that was required. Each vintage would yield a fresh supply. But it is not so. The method that would preserve it one year would keep it ten, twenty, or any number of years.

This process is so closely connected with another, as indicated by the passages to which we have referred, that we will turn to it without further illustration of the one under consideration.

d. Fermentation may be prevented by keeping the grape juice at a temperature below 40 deg. Fahr. Fermentation is possible only at a temperature between this and 86 deg. Fahr. Above the latter point the acetous surplants the vinous process; below the former point the ferment is inoperative. Any thing,

^{*} Appleton's "American Cyclopædia," art. "Fermentation."

^{# &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 104.

therefore, that reduces the temperature to 40 deg. or below will keep the liquid fresh and sweet. Pliny, in speaking of the Greek, dei γλεῦκος, Latin, semper mustum, says, (xiv, 9,) Mergunt e lacu protinus in aqua cados, donec bruma transeat, et consuetudo fiat algendi, "Immediately after the casks have been filled from the vat they sink them in water, until the winter solstice is past, and the habit of being cold is created." Thus, by a combination of the two last-mentioned methods, the exclusion of the air and the reduction of the temperature, fermentation is prevented and the grape juice kept fresh.

e. It remains to speak of one other method of preventing fermentation, namely, by sulphur fumigation. This absorbs the oxygen of the air and arrests the action of the nitrogenous element in the gluten. The process is employed by wine growers in Europe at the present day in preserving unfermented wine.* It is well-known that the ancients used sul phur, pumice-stone, the yelk of eggs, and other substances containing sulphur, in the preparation of their vines. Pliny in a chapter (xiv, 20) devoted to recipes for preserving wine in primo fervore, "in the first stages of ferment," says: Cato facit et sulpuris mentionem, "Cato also makes mention of sulphur." Horace doubtless alludes to this practice, (Car. iii, 8:)

"Hic dies, anno redeunte, festus,
Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit,
Amphoræ formum bibere institutæ.
Consule Tullo."

"This day, sacred in the revolving year, shall remove the cork fastened with pitch from the amphora which was set to fumigate in the consulship of Tullius." The next stanza informs us that this fumigated wine might be drank to the extent of a hundred cups without exciting passion or clamor. "When the Mishna forbids smoked wines from being used in offerings, (Manachoth, viii, 6, et comment,) it has chiefly reference to the Roman practice of fumigating them with sulphur, the vapor of which absorbed the oxygen of the air and thus arrested the fermentation." †

(5.) We have thus far been considering the thing itself without much regard to the name by which it was called. We

^{*} Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 21.

[†] Kitto, "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature," art. "Wine."

have seen that there was and is such a beverage as the unfermented juice of the grape, that it was used as freshly expressed and when carefully preserved. That it was a common drink is amply attested by the frequent references to it in the writings of almost every ancient author, among both the Greeks and the Romans, in all ages of their history, from the earliest to the latest. It is mentioned not only by specialists, but by writers on general topics, historians, dramatists, moralists, and poets. The inference is natural that it was every-where recognized and used as a beverage. But the claim is set up that the unfermented juice of the grape was never known as wine. How that may be in the case of the Hebrews is reserved for separate consideration. ever was the classical usage we propose now to ascertain. position taken is, that wine meant always the fermented juice of the grape. But the fallacy of such a proposition appears from these facts:

a. The fermented juice of the grape was not always called wine. Pliny, in referring to the Roman custom of forbidding the use of intoxicating wine to women, says (xiv, 13) in Cato's day kinsmen kissed the women when they met them to see if their breath smelled of temetum; and adds, Hoc turn nomen vino erat, "At that time this was the name for wine." Like this is the change in modern Greek by which wine is called upaoi, literally, the mixed, instead of the more classical olvos.

b. The term "wine" is used without any reference whatever to the grape. Herodotus calls beer made from barley (ii, 77) olvoς κοιθέων, and palm toddy (ii, 86) olvoς φοινικήϊος. Xenophon also speaks of οlvoς φοινίκων, (Anab., ii, 3, 14,) and Dioscorides (Mat. Med., v, 40,) mentions φοινικίτης οlvoς. Herodotus (iv, 177) calls a drink made from the lotus plant olvoς. Pliny says, (xiii, 5:) E myxis in Ægypto et vina fiunt, "Wines also were made from figs in Egypt."

c. Wine did not always mean the juice of the grape. The Greek οἰνος, (ancient, Fοῖνος,) Latin, vin-um, (ancient, vain-om,) Gothic, vein, Armenian, gin-i, (for gwin-i,) German, wein, and English, wine, according to the best etymologists,* are either derived from or have a common origin with the Hebrew [**]

^{*} Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 142; Fürst, "Lexicon," sub ["; Renan, "Lang. Sem.," i, 207.

yayin. This term, as we shall soon see, is used in at least two instances for the grape itself. The cognate Arabic term for wine means literally, "dark-colored grapes," and the Ethiopian term, "a vineyard." Similarly we find that the most ancient name for the vine among the Greeks was οἶνη, (Hesiod, Op. 572,*) and even after the introduction of ἄμπελος it retained its place, for example, in Euripides. Josephus enumerates (Bel. Jud. vii, 8, 4) among the stores in the fortress of Massada, corn, (οῖτος,) wine, (οἴνος,) oil, (ἔλαιον,) pulse and dates. He calls them τοῦς κάρπονς, and by the terms wine and oil undoubtedly designates grapes and olives. We find the Latin vinum used for grapes, (vinum pendens, Cato, 147,) and for the vine, (locus optimus vino, Varro, i, 25.)

d. Wine did not always mean the fermented juice of the grape. The Greek writers frequently apply olvoς to the juice of the grape before fermentation was possible. Æschylus (Agam. 939, 940) describes Zeus as creating olvov within the green grape, ἀπ' ὁμφακος. Anacreon (Ode 48) speaks of τὸν οlνον πεπηδημένον ὁπώραις ἐπὶ κλημάτων, "the wine imprisoned in the fruit on the stems." Nicander of Colophon says,† δεπάεσσιν Clveὺς ở ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθλίψας olvov ἔκλησε, "And Æneas having squeezed (the juice) into hollow cups called it wine." Proclus, (A. D. 412,) who annotated the "Works and Days" of Hesiod, in his comment on line 611, explains the process of treading the grapes and "treading out the wine," ἐκθλίβοντες τὸν olvoν.

e. The unintoxicating and unfermented juice of the grape was called wine. The beverages which Aristotle and Pliny said do not intoxicate were respectively designated as olvoς ("Meteorologica," iv, 9) and vinum ("Natural History," xiv, 2.) Γλεῦ-κος and mustum were wine and were so named. Aristotle, speaking in the terms of the most exact science of his age, says, ("Meteorologica," iv, 7:) οlvoς γάρ τις καὶ πήγνυται καὶ ἔψεται, οlov τὸ γλεῦκος, "For some wine, such as gleukos, is both congealed and evaporated." This is decisive of the fact that gleukos was wine, and was recognized scientifically as such. Cato, in giving instructions for making hellebore wine, says, ("De Re Rustica," 115:) In vinum mustum veratri atri manipulum conjicito in amphoram, "Throw a handful of black hellebore into must wine in an amphora." This settles the significance of

^{*} Vide Athenæus, "Banquet," i, 1.

mustum. It first appears in the age of Cato (200 B. C.) as an adjective signifying "fresh," "new," "sweet," or "young," and is applied to agna, ewe lamb, (Cato, ap. Prisc., 711,) and to mala, apples, (Cato, "De Re Rustica," 73,) as well as to vinum. But in the latter case it became so identified with its noun that the latter was gradually dropped or absorbed, and the adjective became substantive in use and force. Mustum, therefore, always implies vinum, and means unfermented wine.* This is the explanation of other forms, such as defrutum, equivalent to defrutum vinum, boiled wine; passum, equivalent to passum vinum, raisin wine; and so mulsum vinum, honey wine; protropum vinum, untrodden wine, etc., etc. This is so plain a truth that any one acquainted with the usages of the language will immediately recognize it. The lexicons (for example, Harper's "Latin Dictionary," 1880,) corroborate the statement by supplying vinum after each of these forms. To say that they were not wines, simply because in common usage vinum was omitted, is illogical and absurd. On exactly the same grounds one might deny that claret (French, clairet, dim. of clair, clear) is wine, or that hock and sherry are. The usage in both cases is precisely similar. In Greek, likewise, γλεῦκος, γλύξις, πρόδρομος, εψημα. σίραιον κ. τ. λ., were originally adjectives used with οἶνος, but having incorporated into themselves the signification of the noun, they were generally used substantively. Yet occasionally we find the noun expressed, as in Hippocrates, olvoc σίραιον. We think this a sufficient answer to Professor Bumstead, who "has yet to learn that the name olvog or vinum was ever applied to any of these products, (ἔψημα, γλύξις, carenum, defrutum, and sapa,) unless, perhaps, by some figure of speech." + By the side of Professor Ramsey's assertion # that these were "grape jellies and nothing else," we place the testimony of Parkinson, & who calls them vina, and that of Dr. Richardson, who classes them among "wines."

^{*} Varro (i, 13) expressly ranks mustum as vinum, Sæpe, ubi conditum novum vinum, orcæ in Hispania a fervore musti ruptæ, "Often when new vine is put up, the casks in Spain are burst by the fermenting of the must."

^{† &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 63.

[‡] Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

^{§ &}quot;Theatrum Botanicum," 1640, p. 1557.

[&]quot;Cantor Lectures," p. 22.

From the fact that Pliny (xiv, 9) speaks of certain dulcia, among which defrutum, carenum, etc., are enumerated, it has been claimed that they were something distinct from vina. This classification includes mustum, passum, protropum, mulsum, etc., and would indicate that all, if any, were not wines. But it is by no means an exclusive category. It does not follow, because an article is ranked among the dulcia, that it does not also belong among the vina. Dulcia is an adjective with substantive force, and the word, in this instance, to be understood is vina. The chapter (9) which treats of these dulcia opens with a statement concerning vinum omne dulce, and the whole book (xiv) is devoted to the consideration of vina as the next book (xv) is of olea, duo liquores humanis corporibus gratissimi, (xiv, 22:) "The two liquors most grateful to the human body." Pliny confirms this interpretation when, after quoting several authorities concerning a certain wine called Myrrhina, he says, (xiv, 14,) Quibus apparet non inter vina modo murrinam, sed inter dulcia quoque nominatum, "From which it is evident that Myrrhina was classed, not only among wines, but also among sweets," or sweet wines.

Further evidence of the fact that the unfermented juice of the grape was called wine will appear in our examination of the Scripture terms for wine to which we now turn.

2. The Recognition of Unfermented Wine in the Scriptures. Our inquiry in this direction will embrace the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments. It is necessary to include the former as well as the latter, since the Old Testament was the only written law of the Church of God until after Pentecost; it was constantly quoted and referred to by Christ, who declared that he came not to destroy but to fulfill it, and it is, therefore, our principal key to the interpretation of the New Testament. Both Testaments discriminate between fermented wine, which is stimulant and intoxicating, and unfermented wine, which is nutritious and unintoxicating. They do this in two ways.

(1.) By the terms in which they speak of wine. In one class of passages it is commended and in another class it is condemned; in each case in the strongest and most unmistakable language. It is described as a blessing (Psa. civ, 15, etc.) and as a curse, (Prov. xx, 1, etc.) It is allowed (Deut. xiv, 26, etc.)

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and it is interdicted, (Prov. xxiii, 31, etc.) It is made a symbol of spiritual blessings, (Isa. lv, 1, etc.) and an emblem of divine wrath, (Psa. lxxv, 8.) The natural inference is, that two different substances are designated by these totally diverse characterizations. Says Professor Stuart,* "I cannot refuse to take this position without virtually impeaching the Scriptures of contradiction or inconsistency." But an attempt is made to meet this argument by the citation of other things which, it is claimed, are spoken of in the Scriptures in like contradictory terms. Prof. Bumstead instances rain, + "as a blessing given alike to the just and the unjust," and "as a curse sent to destroy the inhabitants of the earth in a flood." Dr. Moore, with iconoclastic fury, piles example upon example in order "to demolish utterly a specious fallacy by which multitudes have been deceived." # He cites the tongue which St. James calls "a fire, a world of iniquity," etc., but which is, nevertheless, "an organ of unspeakable benefit to man;" wealth, which may be either "a blessing or a snare;" knowledge, which St. Paul says "puffeth up," but which is "elsewhere described in the Scriptures as an excellent thing;" marriage, which the same apostle both approves (1 Tim. iv. 3) and disapproves, (1 Cor. vii, 1;) God, who is "love" and "a consuming fire;" Christ, who is both a Saviour and a "stone of stumbling;" the lion, who is an emblem of Christ and of the devil; leaven, unto which the kingdom of heaven is likened, and of which, as the symbol of Pharisaic doctrine, men are bidden to beware; and the four cups of Passover, which the Talmud expressly declares symbolize both blessings and curses. And then both authors ask if we are to infer in these cases that there are two kinds of rain, tongues, knowledge, etc., or that the distinction lies in the uses of the several objects. As regards the rain, the tongue, the lion, the leaven, and the Passover cups, it is apparent on the surface that they are used in a purely figurative sense, and that in no instance is the object itself intended to be described as intrinsically good or bad. It is not the tongue, for example, that is meant, but the evil disposition which it symbolizes and which would remain were the phys-

^{* &}quot;Letter to Dr. Nott," p. 49.

^{† &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 65.

^{‡ &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 83.

ical member literally cut out. As regards the other examples, it is not denied that the best gifts may be abused, and that even so excellent a thing as knowledge may become "an occasion of pride." But an isolated instance of warning against the misuse of a good thing furnishes no proper parallel to the scores of warnings against the use of wine,* which is distinctly declared a bad thing.† This remark applies to marriage, which is every-where commended in the Scriptures, save in this special instance, where, under exceptional circumstances, it is suggested as inexpedient. The Bible nowhere condemns wealth or warns against it, but against the inordinate desire for it. When Dr. Moore refers to 1 Tim. vi, 9, 10, in support of his statement ‡ that "some people, to be consistent, should put away wealth as an accursed thing," he forgets that those passages say nothing concerning wealth or money, but the love of it. The references to God and Christ, and their twofold attitudes toward sin and the persistent sinner, on the one hand, and toward the repentant believer on the other, are in no sense pertinent to the case in hand.

But the ample vindication of our interpretation of these two classes of passages concerning wine lies in two considerations.

a. First. There are two kinds of wine. We believe this has

^{*} Such, in particular, as Prov. xxiii, 31. Prof. Bumstead ("Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 87) calls it "an intense literalism" to make this "mean an entire prohibition of wine." He says it is "the gloating look of the wine-bibber against which the warning is directed." But this is a strained interpretation which nothing in the simple verb האה, to see, warrants. That the sense may be "look not with desire" is possible. But the prohibition is one that ranks in comprehensiveness with the New Testament precept forbidding so much as the lustful look, (Matt. v, 28.) Dr. Moore, who admits that it is a warning "against looking" at "this dangerous wine," ("Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 96,) limits its application to the persons specially addressed, who, he says, are those addicted to its intemperate use; but that is contrary to the terms and spirit of the passage. The prohibition is based, not upon the habits of the person addressed, but upon the dangerous properties of the wine described. Dr. Moore, stating that the passage has a construction similar to Gen. i, 4, "See not wine that it is red," absurdly suggests that it means "Don't put your eyes on these tempting qualities," as though every thing would be all right, drunkenness and all, provided the victim did not fix his gloating eyes on its intoxicating properties. The construction of the particle ', however, is not simply conjunctive, as in Gen. i, 4, but temporal, as in A. V. here, and with an implied causal force, as in Gen. ii, 3, "Look not because."

[†] For example, Prov. xx, 1, "Wine is a mocker." Heb., γ, LXX, ἀκόλαστον. Eph. v, 18, "Wine wherein is excess."

^{‡ &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

been sufficiently proved, but the argument will be re-enforced by evidence soon to be submitted. Just at this point, however, it is important to emphasize the fact that these two kinds are totally distinct in their constituents and characteristics. This is clearly set forth in the following comparative tables: *

Unfermented wine is composed of

- 1. Gluten.
- 2. Sugar.
- 3. Gum.
- 4. Various odorous matters.
- 5. Malie Acid.
- 6. Citric Acid,
- 7. Phosphorus and
- 8. Sulphur in combination.
- 9. Bitartrate of Potash.
- 10. Tartrate of Lime.
- 11. Water, etc.

- Fermented wine is composed of
- 1. Alcohol.
- 2. Enanthic Acid.
- 3. Enanthic Ether.
- 4. Essential or Volatile Oils.
- 5. Acetic Acid.
- 6. Sulphate of Potash.
- 7. Bouquet or Aroma,
- 8. Chlorides of Potassium and Sodium.
- 9. Tannin and Coloring Matter.
- Undecomposed Sugar, gum, etc., in small quantities.

The first six elements in the second table are entirely new compounds, and there is no more chemical identity between the two substances than between barley and beer.

b. Second. The two classes of passages, the one commendatory, the other condemnatory, could not be indiscriminately applied to the two substances. Unfermented wine would not be interdicted, since it is a perfectly natural, nutritious, and healthful beverage. It could not legitimately be made the symbol of wrath and destruction, any more than the bread and oil with which it is often joined. It would be the proper emblem of mercy and salvation, as bread and oil are, (for example, Psa, civ. 15,) and as it is itself, especially in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On the other hand, the fermented wine could not properly be commended for use or employed as the symbol of blessing and life. We have already seen, by the testimony of the latest and best science, that alcohol in any form or quantity is alien and harmful to the healthy system. It is the product of corruption, and is pronounced a poison both by Scripture and science. Orfilla, Taylor, Christison, the American, United States, French, and English dispensatories, and all the best authorities on toxicology, class it with arsenic, corrosive sublimate, and prussic acid. The Scriptures describe it as a poison. Such is the signification of the Hebrew term

^{*} Dr. Lees' "Text-Book of Temperance," p. 44.

(Psa. cxl, 3,) "Adder's poison is under their lips." This explains the figure in Prov. xxiii, 32: "At the last... it stingeth like an adder." So we read, "Their wine is the poison (chemah) of dragons," Deut. xxxii, 33. "Take the wine cup of this fury;" literally, take the cup of the wine which is poison, (chemah,) Jer. xxv, 15. "The princes have made him sick with bottles" (literally, poison, chemah) "of wine," Hosea vii, 5. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle" (literally, poison, chemah) "to him," Hab. ii, 15. It is incredible that such a substance, which Scripture and science unite in describing as poison, a fermented and alcoholic wine, should in any instance have been the wine which the sacred writers mention in terms of commendation and sanction.

But the Scriptures distinguish between these two wines,

(2.) By the words which they employ to designate them. They discriminate and describe them with an accuracy and affluence of terms which is remarkable when we remember that the Hebrew is comparatively a meager language. In this case our own ordinarily copious tongue suffers in the comparison. For in our English version of the Old Testament the word wine, either alone or in combination with some other word, is used to express no less than eleven different things, which are designated in the Hebrew by as many different terms. How successfully this is done will appear upon an examination of the original words, on which we now enter.

I. T., Yayin.

This is the first and most frequently used word for wine in the Old Testament. It appears in the earliest and in the latest history, from the time of Noah (Gen. ix, 21) to that of Nehemiah, (Neh. xiii, 15.) Gesenius derives it from an obsolete root, iv, yon, "which," he says, "probably signified to boil up, to be in a ferment;" and defines it, "wine, so called from its fermenting, effervescing." But this imports into a primitive term a later and scientific idea, while "new terms, when first imposed, are always expressive of some simple and obvious appearance, never of latent properties or scientific relations."*
Fermentation is not the first, the simplest, or the most obvious

^{*} Dr. Lees, in "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. xxv.

characteristic of grape juice. "Vegetable juices, in general." says Liebig,* "become turbid when in contact with the air before fermentation commences." This characteristic must have been the first to attract attention, and would most naturally have suggested the name. The primitive signification of yayin was, doubtless, simply "foaming," "spuming," "bubbling," as Dindorf suggests and illustrates by reference to the kindred Arabic. It would be very naturally and appropriately applied to the grape juice as it rushed foaming into the winevat. Moses Stuart says: + "The simple idea of grape juice, or vine liquor, is the basis and essence of the word in whatever connection it may stand." And Tayler Lewis says: # "Yayin and oinos simply meant the liquid that comes from pressing the grape. There is no evidence of any further idea associated with it. It was not fermenting fluid, but grape juice." By a natural extension of meaning it would gradually come to designate wine in all its subsequent stages, and would even be applied retrospectively to the wine still confined in the cluster. That vayin was a generic term, including every kind of wine, new or old, fermented or unfermented, intoxicating or unintoxicating, is established by such facts as the following:

a. It is constantly used, occurring oftener than all the other terms for wine combined, in all one hundred and forty-one times.

b. It is employed by Nehemiah (v, 18) in the phrase בֶּלְייִין, kal-yayin, LXX ἐν πᾶσιν οἰνος, Vulg. vina diversa, A. V. "all sorts of wine."

c. It was applied to every species of fermented grape juice, (e. g., Prov. xxiii, 31, where the characteristics of fermentation are distinctly specified.) Concerning this point there is no controversy. But in less than one half of the one hundred and forty-one texts in which yayin occurs can it be shown that the term is applied to a fermented article. In many of the other passages the contrary fact is plainly indicated.

d. It is used for the grape in Num. vi, 4, and in Judges xiii, 14, (lit. the wine-vine.)

e. It is spoken of as "gathered," Deut. xxviii, 39; Jer. xl, 10, 11.

^{* &}quot;Chemistry of Agriculture," fourth edition, p. 327.

f. It is coupled with chalab, which signifies fresh milk in distinction from chemah, curdled milk, Isa. lv, 1; Cant. v, 1.

q. It is connected with dagan, corn, Lam. ii, 12.

h. It is associated directly with the wine press, Isa. xvi, 10; Jer. xlviii, 33.

i. It is used synonymously with dam-anabim, "blood of the grapes," Gen. xlix, 11.

j. It is mentioned with approbation, Psa. civ, 15, etc.

k. It is commanded to be offered in sacrifice, (Exod. xxix, 40; Num. xv, 5, 7, 10, etc.,) while all fermented things were excluded from the offerings.*

These considerations must lead the candid mind to the conclusion that yayin is a generic term, and includes the fresh and unfermented as well as the fermented and intoxicating juice of the grape.

וו. הירוש, Tirosh.

This word occurs thirty-eight times, first in Gen. xxvii, 28. It is translated (A.V.) "wine" twenty-six times, "new wine" eleven times, and "sweet wine" once. More controversy has been waged over this term than over all the other words for wine combined. It is asserted that it always designates a fermented wine. † It is claimed that it always signifies an unfermented wine. It is affirmed that it "denotes wine in the process of growth and manufacture," including "the solid fruit, the unfermented juice, or the fermented product of that fruit and juice." It is denied that it means "wine at all, but the fruit of the vineyard in its natural condition." Equally diverse have been the explanations of its etymology. There is a very general agreement as to its derivation from the verb ייש, yarash, to seize, or dispossess, hence to possess. Gesenius says it is applied to wine "because it gets possession of the brain," than which nothing could be more arbitrary or absurd. Fürst says it signifies "what is got from the grapes." Bythner says I it is

^{*} Vide Discussion of Lord's Supper, infra.

[†] Dr. Robinson, "Lex. of the N. T.;" Dr. William Smith, "Bible Dictionary;" Dr. Moore, "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 110.

[‡] G. W. Samson, "The Divine Law as to Wines," p. 70, f.

[§] Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 67-69.

Dr. Lees, "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 28.

^{¶&}quot;Lyra Prophetica."

nsed of "the vine as a possession in the eyes of the Hebrews." Dr. Samson, deriving it from the Hiphil conjugation of the verb, as something causing possession or dispossession, makes it refer to the laxative effect of the fresh grape juice. The theory is an ingenious one, but can hardly stand the test of application. A careful and critical examination of this term in all the passages where it is used has compelled the conclusion that the view of Dr. Lees is the more nearly correct, and the etymology of Bythner the most probable. Tirosh seems to have been the word used for the vine-fruit in its natural, solid state, and with special reference to its being the source and material of wine. But in no instance does it appear to have denoted the liquid product of the grape. Our interpretation of tirosh is sustained by the manner in which the Hebrew writers use the term.

a. It is never found associated with ont, lehem, bread, or with shemen, oil. In thirty instances it is mentioned in connection with דגן, dagan, "corn," namely, grain, which in no case signifies an artificial preparation as bread.* In twenty-one instances it occurs in connection with יצהר, yitzhar, which is rendered "oil," (Gesenius and A.V.,) but which "is derived, as Dindorf, Gesenius, and others admit, from a root signifying to 'shine,' 'glisten,' like the Spanish term azahar, 'orange flower,' and the Latin aurantium for the shining orange class of fruits." and probably denotes the olive, which "also shines and glistens in the sun," and other orchard fruit. Dr. Lees, from whom we have just quoted, well says: + "These three terms constitute a beautiful triad of natural blessings, (1) corn-fruit, (2) vine-fruit, (3) orchard-fruit, or, in other words, the produce of field, vineyard, and orchard." These three terms are mentioned together nineteen times. Once tirosh is joined with my, zayith, olives, (Micah vi, 14, 15,) and, as this passage is a striking proof of the correctness of our view of the term, we quote it, arranging it in such a way as to bring into view the Hebrew parallelism.

^{*}We do not consider Lam. ii, 12 an exception, (cf. Gesenius.) It makes the picture of the famine more vivid to regard even the raw materials for food as lacking. This passage also illustrates the generic use of yayin.

^{† &}quot;Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 29.

Thou shalt eat, but not be satisfied,

And thou shalt take hold, but shalt not deliver;

Thou shalt sow, but shalt not reap;

Thou shalt tread the zayith, but thou shalt not anoint thee with shemen; And tirosh, but shalt not drink yayin.

This makes it plain that tirosh was regarded as the natural source of yayin, as olives were of oil. It also disproves Prof. Bumstead's view that tirosh included wine in all stages from "its germinant state in the vineyard" to the finished product after fermentation. It is true he adduces it as "an unanswerable argument" in its favor, but it is no more such than it is a proof that zayith meant shemen in any state, fresh or old, sweet or rancid. There is no more evidence that tirosh ever denoted wine than there is that dagan, with which it is so constantly associated, ever denoted bread in any state, whether dough or baked. There is nothing in the etymology or usage of tirosh in any passage to sustain Prof. Bumstead's position.

Further facts indicative of the signification which we have given to *tirosh* are these:

b. It is constantly connected with the mention of conditions affecting natural growth, such as drought, (Isa. xxiv, 7; Joel i, 10.) and dew, Gen. xxvii, 28; Deut. xxxiii, 28.

c. It is every-where treated as a natural product. It is found "in the cluster," (Isa. lxv, 8;) "gathered," (Deut. xi, 14;) pr't into "storehouses," (2 Chron. xxxii, 28;) "trodden," (Micah vi, 15;) "bursts out from the press," (Prov. iii, 10;) and makes the vats "overflow," Joel ii, 24.

d. It is tithed as a natural product of the soil, just as dagan and yitzhar are. Deut. xii, 17, etc.

e. It is never spoken of as being poured out, put into cups, or drunk, save in a single instance. Isa. lxii, 8. But the interpretation which is so fully supported by a careful induction of every other text in which tirosh occurs is not to be set aside on the strength of a single exceptional usage, which is easily and naturally explained as a case of metonomy. There seems to be no warrant for the assertion* that in Deut. xii, 17, and xiv, 23, "the drinking of tirosh is intimated by the figure called zeugma." In both passages we find the triad, dagan,

^{*} Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 67.

yitzhar, and tirosh, all solids and all the proper objects of the verb אכל, akal, to eat.

If our view of tirosh be the right one, then there is no need of pausing to examine the single passage which has been adduced in evidence of its intoxicating character: "Whoredom and wine (yayin) and new wine (tirosh) take away the heart." Hos. iv, 11. Prof. Bumstead is fortunately "quite ready to abandon it." * But Dr. Moore still clings to the old interpretation. + "To take away the heart" in this text does not refer to intoxication, but signifies, as Bishop Lowth says, to "deprive men of their judgment and darken their understanding. So a gift is said to 'destroy the heart.' Eccles. vii, 7." The fact that three distinct things are enumerated, indicates a difference. There is no parallelism in the passage. Whoredom is not yayin, and yayin is not tirosh. The first is undoubtedly used for illicit worship or idolatry; the second for sensual gratification; and tirosh for worldly possessions. The three had drawn their hearts away from "God as the infinite Goodness and Fountain of spiritual joy." The whole forms a striking fulfillment of the dying prophecy of Moses, Deut. xxxii, 14-16. We conclude, therefore, with reference to tirosh, that it does not signify wine in any sense or case, but the natural fruit of the vineyard in its solid state and regarded as the basis of wine.

m. שבר, Shechar.

This word occurs twenty-three times, first, in Lev. x, 9. It is rendered "strong drink" (A.V.) in all instances save in Num. xxviii, 7, where it is translated "strong wine," and in Psa. lxix, 12, where, instead of drinkers of shechar," the A.V. reads simply "drunkards." As yayin is the generic term for the liquid of tirosh, so shechar is the generic term for the liquor of yitzhar \sqrt{s} or of any other fruit than the grape, such as dates, pomegranates, etc. It is claimed that the intoxicating nature of the beverage is established by "the unquestionable significance of the word, as indicated by its derivation and use."

^{*} Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 69.

^{† &}quot;Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 110, note.

Com. in loco.

[§] In Deut. xiv, 26, shechar answers to the yitzhar of verse 23, as yayin answers to tirosh in the same verse.

Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 74.

Gesenius' derivation from שכר, shachar, "to drink deeply, to be drunken," is cited. But, as Gesenius admits, the verb is used "not always of drunkenness; but sometimes to drink to the full." Gen. xliii, 34; Cant. v, 1. This is confirmed by the LXX, which often renders shachar by μεθύομαι, the radical signification of which is to drink to repletion. The LXX also, and the Greek versions generally, render shechar by μέθυσμα, whose root, μέθν, is cognate with the Sanskrit madhu, honey.* So shechar is doubtless etymologically akin to the word for sugar in all the Aryan and Semitic tongues. It probably denoted sweet juices of all kinds originally, but came at length, in distinction from yayin, to be applied to the juices of other fruits than grapes, and, like yayin, was used generically of both fermented and unfermented drinks. The contrast between "sweet" and "bitter" in Isa. xxiv, 9, (literally, "bitter shall be the sweet drink-shechar-to them that drink it,") shows that shechar was valued on account of its sweetness, a quality which decreases in proportion to the amount of alcohol present.+ The facts that it was commanded to be consumed "before the Lord," (Deut. xiv, 26,) and to be offered in sacrifice, (Num. xxviii, 7,) indicate that it included unfermented forms of fruit juice. The "asis of pomegranates," (Cant. viii, 2,) which was an unfermented beverage, was a species of shechar. It is further confirmatory of this view that to this day the juice of the palm tree in an unfermented state, when just fresh from the tree, is a common and favorite beverage of the natives of Arabia, and is called by a name whose root is the same as that of shechar. ‡

וער , Chemer; חמר, Chamar; חמר, Chamrâ.

The first form occurs twice, (Deut. xxxii, 14, and Isaiah xxvii, 2,) and once as a verb, Psa. lxxv, 8. The other two forms are Chaldaic, and occur six times, Ezra vi, 9; vii, 22; Dan. v, 1, 2, 4, 23. It is from the verb van, chamar, to foam or be agitated, as, for example, the sea, Psa. xlvi, 3. Like yayin, it is descriptive of the foaming appearance of the newly-expressed grape juice, or of the same liquor in the process of

^{*} Peile, "Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology," p. 127.

⁺ Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 19.

[#] Macleod, "Peeps at the Far East," p. 27.

fermentation. Mr. Bevan, in Smith's "Bible Dictionary." says: "It may equally well apply to the process of fermentation, or to the frothing of liquid freshly poured out, in which latter case it might be used of an unfermented liquid." does not affect this testimony that the author elsewhere expresses his dissent from the doctrine of an unfermented wine. Like yayin, also, chemer was undoubtedly used as a generic term, and was probably a poetical substitute for the former. with which it was almost identical in meaning. It signifies a fresh and unfermented beverage in Deut, xxxii, 14, "Thou didst drink chemer, the blood of grapes," as the appositive phrase proves. Prof. Bumstead thinks it would "require a painfully prosaic turn of mind to understand 'the blood of the grapes' as meaning simple grape juice, especially when associated with such a word as chemer has already been shown to be."* But what has it been shown to be? Certainly not the designation exclusively of a fermented article. The etymology supports no such view. The usage in this case, moreover, which is the earliest on record, gives it no favor. "Blood of grapes" cannot be fairly construed in any other sense than that of "simple grape juice," as will hereafter appear. argue from a much later usage of this term, where the circumstances of the case were entirely different, that in this earlier instance and primitive age it meant an intoxicating drink, is illogical and absurd. Instead of chemer proving "the blood of grapes" a fermented drink in this passage, "the blood of grapes" proves that chemer was unfermented. And also, in Isa, xxvii, 2, if the Hebrew text be genuine, it describes the juice of the grape, not as "red," (A.V.,) but "as if already foaming under the treader's feet." In Psa. lxxv, 8, where it is again rendered "red," (A.V.,) it doubtless signifies "foaming." It also, in all probability, denoted a light effervescing wine, like our modern bottled wines. It is doubtless used in this sense in Daniel.

v. אשישה, Ashishah.

This word occurs four times, first in 2 Sam. vi, 19, and in in each case it is associated with some kind of drink. In Cant. ii, 5, it is rendered simply "flagons;" in the other three in-

^{* &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 65

stances it is rendered "flagons of wine." It is conceded on all hands to mean, not wine at all, but a cake of pressed raisins. It denotes, therefore, a solid and not a liquid.

VI. מונ, Mesek; ממקד, Mimsak; מונ, Mezeg.

The first of these cognate forms occurs but once, (Psa. lxxv, 8,) and the third but once, (Cant. vii, 2,) and they are each rendered (A.V.) "mixture." The second form occurs twice, (Prov. xxiii, 30, and Isa. lxv, 11,) and in the first passage is rendered "mixed wine," in the second "drink-offering." These words occur in a verbal shape five times, Prov. ix, 2, 5; Psa. cii, 9; Isa. v, 22; xix, 14. They signify wine compounded with some other ingredient, but whether drugged or diluted is not necessarily indicated. That the latter is sometimes the case is evident from the use of the term in Prov. ix, 2, 5, where the wine which Wisdom prepared was, doubtless, diluted with water, and also in Isa. v, 22.* This is also indicated by the fact that the LXX in these and other passages render the term by κεράνννμ, which always denotes a weakening of wines by dilution.†

VII. שמרים, Shemarim.

This word, which is the plural of of שמר, shemer, occurs five times, first in Psa. lxxv, 8. It is derived from the verb שמר shamar, to preserve, and has the general signification of "things preserved." Gesenius admits as much, but applies the term in all cases to the dregs of wine, "so called, because when wine is kept on the lees its strength and color are preserved." The explanation is far-fetched, and is not needed, at least in the case of Isa. xxv, 6, where the term occurs twice. and is rendered (A.V.) "wines on the lees." It is difficult to understand why wine (yayin) should not have been expressed if it is in any way intended or alluded to here. The literal reading of the passage is "a feast of fat things, a feast of preserved things," and the natural inference is that the term answers to our English "preserves." So the earlier translators understood it. Coverdale (1535) rendered "sweet things," and the Bishop's Bible (1568) and Cranmer, (1585,) "deli-

^{*} Vide Gesenius, "Lexicon," sub 373.

⁺ Vide Liddell and Scott, "Lexicon," in loco.

cate things." In Psa. lxxv, 8, where it is rendered (A. V.) "dregs," it seems to denote not so much the faces of the wine before being drawn off from the vat as the undissolved drugs of the mixture. In the two other instances of its use, where it is rendered (A.V.) "lees," the LXX suggests other readings altogether: $\delta\delta\xi\eta$, glory, in Jer. xlviii, 11, (LXX, xxxi, 11,) and $\phi\nu\lambda\dot{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau a$, defenses, in Zeph. i, 12. In Isa. li, 17, 22, an entirely different Hebrew word is used for "dregs." So shemarim may have no reference whatever to the lees of wine. If it does in the two last mentioned passages, as it most surely does not in the first mentioned, its use is so purely figurative as to have no bearing on our present inquiry.

VIII. VOV, Asis.

This word occurs five times, first in Cant, viii, 2, where it is used of the juice of the pomegranate. In Isa, lxix, 26, and Amos ix, 13, it is rendered (A.V.) "sweet wine;" in Joel i, 5. and iii, 18, "new wine." It is derived from the verb DDy, asas, to tread, as all authorities agree. It denotes the newly expressed juice of the grape or other fruit. So the LXX, which renders νάμα "inice" and γλυκασμόν "sweetness," and the Vulgate, which renders mustum and dulcendo "sweetness," indi-The attempt is made* to prove that asis included an intoxicating liquor from its use in the passages Isa. xlix, 26, and Joel i. 5. But in the former case, as Prof. Bumstead well observes: + "The point of the comparison lies not in any intoxicating power of the asis, but in the manner in which the asis is produced by the process of treading."! In the second passage the new wine is regarded as the source of the fermented wine. The latter fails because the new wine is cut off, and the new wine is cut off because the vineyards are destroyed by the invasion of insects described in the preceding verse. Prof. Bumstead's view of asis as "a poetical substitute for tirosh" § is negatived by the established character of tirosh as always a solid and never a liquid, such as he claims it sometimes was. Cant. viii, 2, proves asis a liquid, and Joel iii, 18, and Amos ix, 13, do not disprove it. "It would seem to require a painfully prosaic turn of mind to see" only a solid

^{*} Gesenius, "Lexicon," in loco. + "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 77.

t Comp. Isa. lxiii, 6, and Rev. xix, 15. § "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 77.

"product of the soil" in the asis which the mountains drop down. The dull imagination may be assisted by a quotation from Pallas, who says of the grapes of the Hungarian vintage:* "In August they ripen, burst, and begin to evacuate their juice. The shirnoi contains a rich juice and bursts when ripe." Prof. Bumstead attempts to make out an intoxicating character for asis by reason of "its association with spiced, or mixed, wine" in Cant. viii, 2, and "the pervading voluptuousness of Solomon's imagery." He calls it, however, "an exceptional use of the word." But the fact that two beverages are mentioned in this passage implies a difference if not a contrast between them; and we should expect to find it in the unspiced and unintoxicating character of the second named. The LXX, which renders it by váµa, and the Vulgate, which renders by mustum. both support this view. "The pervading voluptuousness of Solomon's imagery" is better satisfied by making asis the new juice than by any other interpretation. Luxury always commands the greatest variety, and in that age considered the freshly expressed beverages among the choicest. We conclude, therefore, from the etymology and usage of asis, that it always denotes a sweet and unfermented liquor.

וx. אֹבסׁ, Sobe.

This word occurs but three times. It is derived from the verb κος, saba, to drink to satiation, and probably denoted a rich boiled wine, such as would speedily surfeit. It corresponded to the Greek έψημα, Latin sapa, to which it is doubtless etymologically akin, and to the Italian and French sabe. In Isa. i, 22, the allusion to mixing with water favors the view of a boiled wine. Hosea iv, 18, literally "sour is their sobe," suggests Columella's remark, (xii, 20,) "Defrutum is accustomed to grow sour (solet acescere) however carefully prepared." In Nahum i, 10, the sense may be, "soaking as with sobe," though the LXX has an entirely different reading here. There is no proof that sobe ever designated an intoxicating beverage.

x. ענכים, Anabim.

This word means, literally, "grapes," but in one instance (Hos. iii, 1) it is rendered (A. V.) "wine," under a mistaken

^{*} Travels, (1793,) i, 314, quoted in "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 27.

notion of the meaning of ashishah, with which it is immediately connected in the same passage.

XI. JP, Yeqeb.

This word means, literally, wine-press or vat, but it is rendered (A. V.) "wine" once, Deut. xvi, 13. The phrase should read, "In thy gathering from thy floor and from thy press."

This completes the list of Hebrew words translated in our English Version by "wine" or by any phrase containing the word. There remain, however, five other terms signifying the liquid product of the grape, and better deserving the rendering "wine" than many we have considered.

XII. דס־ענכים, Dam-anabim.

This expression occurs in Gen. xlix, 11, rendered (A. V.) "blood of grapes," and in the singular, dam-enab, (A. V.,) "blood of the grape," in Deut. xxxii, 14. "Blood" is a poetical name for juice. It was used not so much with reference to the color of the liquid, for grape juice is generally, though not always, colorless, as to the fact that the life of the vine is in it. Cf. Lev. xvii, 11. The term is employed in the same sense now. Dr. Macleod, for example, calls the fresh and limpid juice of the palm "a genuine product of nature, and the very blood of the tree."* We shall see in our discussion of the Lord's Supper that no other form of grape juice than the unfermented can with any propriety be called "the blood of the grape."

XIII. משרח־ענכים, Mishrath-anabim.

This phrase occurs but once, (Num. vi, 3,) and is rendered (A. V.) "liquor of grapes." Mishrath is derived from the verb שָּהָה, sharah, "to loosen, to macerate," according to Gesenius, who defines the phrase, "the steeping of grapes." Dr. Thomas Laurie says † it refers to "a drink made in that way, [steeping,] and drank before it ferments."

xiv. רכש, Debash.

This word is derived from a verb רָבשׁ, dabash, to knead, "as being glutinous like a kneaded mass.‡ It is always rendered (A. V.) "honey," but in not more than three cases out of

^{* &}quot;Peeps at the Far East," p. 27. † "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1869. ‡ Gesenius, "Lexicon," in loco.

nearly fifty where it occurs does it mean honey from bees, but honey of grapes, that is, the fresh juice boiled down to a syrup. "At the present day," says Gesenius, "this syrup is still in common use in Palestine under the Arabic name dibs."

xv. ממץ, Chometz.

This word occurs six times, first in Num. vi, 3, and is in each case rendered (A. V.) vinegar. It is derived from the verb ran, chamatz, "to be sharp, pungent," and denotes the juice of the grape or of other fruits which had undergone both the alcoholic and the acctous fermentations. It was a thin, sour wine something like the French vin-ordinaire.

XVI. ממתקים, Mamtaggim.

This word occurs twice, and is derived from the verb pnn, mathaqh, "(1) to suck, (2) to be sweet, sweet things being wont to be sucked,* " and signifies "sweetnesses, or sweet things." It is applied to the mouth (Cant. v, 16) as full of sweet things, and in Neh. viii, 10, "drink the sweet," it denotes the thick, sweet wines, devoid of intoxicating properties, which needed to be largely diluted before they were drunk.

Coming now to the New Testament we find five Greek terms used for beverages made from the grape and other fruits, but of these only two are in any instance rendered "wine" in our English Version. We shall briefly consider them.

I. Olvoç.

This word occurs thirty-two times, outnumbering all the other terms in use four to one. It has the same generic sense in the New Testament that it has in classic usage, and that yayin has in the Hebrew. Moses Stuart says:† "In the New Testament we have oinos, which corresponds exactly with the Hebrew yayin." As has been already suggested, the two terms probably have a common etymological origin. Every argument for including unfermented wine under the Hebrew term applies with equal or augmented force to the Greek, for olvos has really a wider range of meaning than yayin, since the Hebrew has several distinct roots to express differences denoted in the Greek by adjectives qualifying this single generic term. In the New Testament usage it comprehends "new

^{*} Gesenius, "Lexicon," in loco. † "Letter to Dr. Nott." FOURTH SERIES, Vol. XXXIV.—21

wine," οἰνος νέος, (Matt. ix, 17 and Mark ii, 22,) "sweet wine," γλεῦκος, (Luke x, 34,) and "sour wine," όξος, (Mark xv, 23.) These several passages will be considered under their appropriate heads in the further discussion of this subject.

π. Γλεύκος.

This word occurs but once, (Acts ii, 15,) where it is rendered (A. V.) "new wine." We have established its reference to an unfermented beverage in the classical writings, and the single instance of its occurrence in the New Testament confirms this view. Professor Bumstead says * that it "clearly refers to an unfermented liquid," and successfully joins issue with Robinson, Bevan, Alford, Moore, and others who attempt to deny it.

π. Σίκερα.

This word, which occurs but once, (Luke i, 15,) is a literal rendering of the Hebrew *shechar*, and like that is doubtless used generically for all kinds of beverages made from other fruits than the grape.

τν. Οίνος νέος.

This word is used nine times, (Matt. ix, 17, twice; Mark ii, 23, three times; Luke v, 37, twice, 38 once, 39, $\nu \acute{e}o$; expressed and $o \acute{t} \nu o$; understood,) and is rendered (A. V.) in each instance "new wine." It was perhaps a general term for grape juice recently expressed, and may have included that which had begun to ferment. But in its New Testament usage, in the single connection in which it appears, it denotes a freshly expressed and unfermented liquor, as we shall see.

v. "Oξος.

This word occurs six times (Matt. xxvii, 34, 48; Mark xv, 36; Luke xxiii, 36; John xix, 29, 30) in connection with the accounts of the crucifixion, and is in each case rendered (A. V.) "vinegar." It is equivalent to the Hebrew chometz, and designated, like that, a thin, sour wine. It will be more fully considered hereafter.

VI. Γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου.

This expression is employed three times (Matt. xxv, 29; Mark xiv, 25; Luke xxii, 18) in connection with the record of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and is rendered (A.V.)

^{* &}quot;Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 81,

"fruit of the vine." It signifies the first and simplest product of the grape, the fresh juice. It will be discussed at length in our consideration of the Lord's Supper.

Summing up the results of our inquiry concerning the terms for wine in the Scriptures, we find that

1. There are eleven words in the Old Testament and two in the New, thirteen in all, which are rendered (A. V.) by "wine" either singly or in connection with some other word.

2. There are five other terms in the Old Testament and four others in the New, nine in all, which refer to the juice of the grape or of other fruits in some form. So that

3. There are in all, in both the Old and New Testaments, twenty-two terms which are applied to the products of the grape or of other fruits.

4. But of these twenty-two terms, there are five which have no reference whatever to the juice of the grape or to the juice of any fruit: one (tirosh) denotes the vine fruit in its natural, solid state; another (ashishah) denotes a cake of pressed raisins; another (shemarim) denotes the insoluble dregs of the wine, or, more probably, "preserves" or confections; another (enab) denotes simply the grape; and the fifth (yeqeb) denotes the wine-press.

5. Of the remaining seventeen words and phrases which do refer to the juices of fruits, three Hebrew terms (yayin, shechar, and chemer) and two Greek terms, (olvoς and σίκερα,) five in all, are generic. One Hebrew term (chometz) and one Greek (ὅξος), two in all, denote a wine that has entered the acetic stage of fermentation. One Hebrew term (mesek, etc.) denotes a wine, either fermented or unfermented, which has been drugged or diluted. And six Hebrew terms (asis, sobe, dam-anabim, mishrath-anabim, debash, and mamtaqqim) and three Greek terms, (γλεῦκος, οἰνος νέος, γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλον,) nine in all, denote some form of unfermented grape or other juice. So that

6. With the exception of one Hebrew and of one Greek word, which designate a beverage that has entered the acetic stage of fermentation, there is no term in the Old Testament or in the New which invariably indicates a fermented liquor, while there are nine which signify an unfermented article, and six others, the most important and by far the most frequently used, which leave us absolutely free to decide, by reference to

the context or circumstances of the case, whether or not a fermented wine is intended.

Having examined at length the assumption underlying the claim that the example of Jesus sanctions the use of alcoholic beverages, namely, that there was not in his times an unfermented wine in existence or use, and having proven it to be false, both from the testimony of the ancient classics and of the sacred Scriptures, it now remains to consider the specifications themselves.

ART. V.—PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, AND ITS NEGRO POPULATION.

Passing over the historic events connected with the growth and prosperity of Petersburg, Va., up to 1861, we find it a city of 18,266 inhabitants—white, 9,342, colored, 8,924. Of the colored population, 3,244, strange to say, were free negroes, and 5,080 were slaves. At that time there was a large section of Petersburg, in the south-western part of the city, called Gilfield, inhabited almost exclusively by free negroes, some of whom were property-holders in a small way. They were, however, greatly restricted in their civil rights, and for the most part degraded in social position. It is a fact that the slaves, in the better classes of white families, would not associate with them.

Prior to what is known as the "Nat Turner Insurrection," in Southampton Co., Va., in 1831, the negroes, free and slaves, enjoyed the unrestricted privilege of holding their own religious meetings. Their preachers were duly licensed, and, in some instances, regularly ordained. They had their Sundayschools and church organizations, and many of them acquired a knowledge of letters and a fair average of general intelligence. Some of the negro preachers were eloquent and instructive in their pulpit ministrations, not unfrequently preaching, by invitation, in the pulpits of the white congregations.

Thousands of the negroes, more especially the slaves, held their church membership with the whites, and worshiped with them, occupying the galleries provided for their accommodation, and were supplied with the sacraments by the white pastors, who, in addition to the regular services to which the negroes had access to the extent of the gallery accommodations, held special services for them on Sunday afternoons. But the insurrection, which was headed by Nat Turner, a negro preacher and a slave, owned by one of the most indulgent of masters, led to stringent, and apparently cruel and oppressive, legislation, prohibiting negroes, under pains and penalties, from preaching or holding public religious services without the presence of one or more white persons, and even denying

them the privilege of learning to read or write.

In the absence of this history, "The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" is one of the most abhorrent and appalling commentaries ever written on African slavery. It has made the cheek of many a slave-holder tingle. But the legislation at the time, in Virginia, was deemed a life and death question. Nothing short of it, for the time being, could allay the painful and distressing excitement that prevailed every-where through the country. It almost makes one's blood run cold, even at this remote period of time, to recall the trepidation and alarm that pervaded the whole community. The stoutest hearts were made to quail. Rumors of negro insurrection filled the air. Sleep ceased to be refreshing, haunted as it was by hideous dreams of murder, blood, and arson. Mothers and maidens, and even little children, for months, not to say years, following the "Nat Turner Insurrection," looked pale and ghastly as the shadows of the evening gathered around them, from the horrifying apprehension that with bludgeon they might be brained, or with torch might be burned to a crisp, before the morning. I speak from experience. Nor would I go through the agony of those years again, for all the gold that ever passed hands in the negro traffic from colonial times till President Lincoln emancipated them with the stroke of his pen. Pharaoh and his people, under the visit of the destroying angel, when the first-born were convulsively quivering in the deathstruggle in every household, did not more earnestly desire the quick departure of the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, than did the great majority of the slave-holders in the Carolinas and Virginia desire the removal of the negroes from among them immediately after the Southampton insurrection.

It was this state of feeling that led to, if it did not positively justify, the legislation that now looks so repellant on our statute-books. The measure was considered imperative, under the circumstances—circumstances that cannot be fully appreciated at this distance of time; and yet it must be admitted that it is difficult to defend an institution that required such legislation to protect its patrons from consequences more to be deprecated than empty barns, untilled fields, and hard-handed toil.

Falling back a little in our narrative, it is just and proper to say that, prior to the prohibitory legislation in Virginia, at least two negro churches, independent of the whites, had been in existence for many years in Petersburg, namely, the African Baptist Church, claiming to have been organized in 1784, if not earlier, and the Gilfield Baptist Church, in the free negro quarter of the city, organized as early as 1803, possibly at an earlier date. The Third Baptist (colored) Church, was organized in 1843. Besides these three Colored Baptist churches, in 1861, there was the Union-street Methodist Episcopal Church, South. These churches were severally served by white pastors after the insurrection in 1831.

Such was the condition of affairs so far as they relate to the religious and educational privileges of the negro population in

Petersburg, at the beginning of the war in 1861.

Many of the slaves, under all the disadvantages of their condition, were intelligent and really religious, in the best sense of the term. Those who were in more intimate association with the whites, as butlers, porters, dining-room servants, nurses, and chamber-maids, gathered up a great deal of current information, and acquired easy and even graceful manners. In point of genuine politeness many of the old family negroes in Petersburg, male and female, were models of gentility and polite behavior. The great masses, however, were ignorant, as a matter of course, and had a low standard of morals. The relations between the two races were pleasant. Docility and obedience on the part of the negro, with a due recognition of the superiority of the white race, secured to the blacks kind and conciliatory treatment. Instances of cruel and inhuman treatment there unquestionably were; but a hard and oppressive master or mistress was at a discount in good society. The slaves, as a rule, were warmly attached to their owners, and the administration of the laws was immeasurably milder than the stringency of the statutes would seem to indicate.

At the beginning of the war, in 1861, Petersburg was in a prosperous condition. The merchants were successful; manufacturers of tobacco, working slave and free-negro labor, were thrifty, and all departments of industry were in a state of remunerative activity. The citizens generally were in easy circumstances, and many of them rich. Hospitality was unbounded, and abundance reigned every-where. The cotton mills, of which there were six or seven in and around Petersburg, gave employment to the poorer classes of white laborers, male and female; so that among all classes there was contentment, prosperity, and plenty. I speak from personal knowledge, being then, as I am now, pastor of one of the principal churches of the city.

Apart from the fact that more than five thousand of the negroes were slaves, and held as chattels by their owners, and were subjected to disabilities as citizens, and restricted in their religious privileges, as above recited, there was nothing in the condition of the population to excite the commiseration of the philanthropist or to invoke the pity of the humanitarian. The negroes themselves were cheerful and happy, singing merrily at their work, and enjoying the comforts of convenient shelter, necessary clothing, and an abundance of nutritive food. They had, with limited exceptions, no aspirations beyond their condition. Altogether they were the happiest and best contented laborers in the world.

Such was the condition of affairs in Petersburg when the first gun was fired on Fort Sumter. At first there was no violent disruption. Business continued with but slight interruption. But the storm thickened, and grew more and more portentous, and at last seemed to spend its fury on the devoted city. It sustained a siege the history of which has not been written—never will be written.

Religious services were kept up in the negro churches, with more or less of regularity during the war, from April, 1861, till April, 1865. No additional restraints were imposed upon the colored population as to their religious privileges; and, to the praise and credit of the slaves, be it recorded that, as abody, they continued faithful to their owners during the continuance of the war. They manifested neither restlessness nor insubordination; and in many instances displayed a devotion

to the Confederate cause unsurpassed by the whites who were not in active service. Families of defenseless women and children were perfectly safe under their protection. Not an instance of personal violence, not so much as a threat of violence, ever fell under the knowledge of the writer during the four long years of the war. The negro church members were as attentive to religious worship and as earnest in prayer for the preservation of the lives of the soldiers, as were the whites who were not in the field. Indeed, I think it may be said in truthfulness that there was less of open backsliding, less of religious defection, among the negroes than among the whites. And what is here stated with respect to the negroes of Petersburg was true with respect to the slaves generally in the Confederate lines. Many of the slaves accompanied their owners to the camp and to the field. They were cognizant of all that was transpiring around them, and might with ease, had they been so disposed, have passed the lines at any time, and yet they remained faithful and trustworthy till the close of hostilities. There were, as might naturally be expected, individual exceptions. The wonder is there were so few. This page of the history of the war has not vet been written out. The fact is, and perhaps this explains the matter, that neither the whites nor the blacks regarded it as a struggle for the emancipation of the slaves. Hence the relations between the two races continued unimpaired. There was mutual confidence and reciprocal trust. As an evidence, the negroes were every-where employed in constructing breastworks and other defenses, as occasion demanded. They cultivated the soil, and provided for the families of the soldiers at home. They visited the camps, and bore messages between husbands and wives, between mothers and their sons. They greeted the return of the soldiers, on temporary furlough, with unfeigned joy, and many a "mammy" clasped the bronzed and ragged boy-soldier to her breast with an affection but little short of that of an own mother.

Nor was it till the close of the protracted conflict, and the emancipation of the slaves, that any marked alienation took place between the races; and only then as it was instigated and fostered by the presence and teachings of fanatical preachers and low politicians. These infested the country and stirred

up strife and excited suspicion and distrust of the whites; and for a season led to estrangement and alienation, to a greater or less extent, between the two races.

Happily, I may say here and now, though it anticipates the current order of events, a healthful reaction has set in, and the relations between the whites and the blacks are comparatively free from the elements that hitherto created friction and antagonism; and there is, at the time of this present writing, a better state of feeling, and a stronger tendency than ever before to a mutual recognition of each other's rights, and to a

peaceable and permanent state of society.

It is not an unpleasant task to review the history of events as they stand connected with the past and present condition of the negro population of Petersburg, Virginia. And Petersburg is chosen for the reason that it has had a negro population in excess of the whites ever since the war; it has had a majority of colored voters-a majority of colored scholars in the public schools—it now has a larger number of colored church members than the aggregate of white church members in the city; and for the further reason that the writer has a better personal knowledge of the past and present status of the negroes in Petersburg than elsewhere. Petersburg came out of the war battered and broken. For the space of ten months it was under the fire of the Federal forces, day and night, with only an occasional cessation of the terrible rain of shot and shell. The midnight sky was lurid with the glare and trail of fiery and explosive missiles. A momentary lull was soon followed by the fearful crash of a stray shot coming through the walls or the roof of a family residence on Bollingbrook-street, or suddenly exploding at the feet of the unprotected passenger in the public thoroughfares of the city. Thousands of the citizens had sought refuge in the country, huddled together in frail tents or in rickety shanties, but thousands remained, resigned to their fate. Strange how few were killed! Strange how few of the negroes-proverbially timid—deserted their cabins, or sought to escape for safety to the besiegers of the city. They were heard singing and praying, night after night, during the long continuance of the pitiless storm. In the midst of the painful and agonizing suspense a mine was sprung under one of the principal defenses in the

long line of earthworks around the city, and for the nonce it seemed as if hell itself had let loose its infernal fires on Petersburg! The "Crater" still remains in sight of our church steeples, a hideous scar that Dame Nature's healing hand has not yet blotted out of sight and memory. A cavalry attack, under General Kautz, with 2,000 men, was made on the city, June 9, 1864, which would have proved a success but for the intrepidity of a handful of reserves, made formidable by the apprehension, on the part of the cavalry, that the city reservoir, which occupied a conspicuous position in the rear of the little reserved force, was a powerful fortification, impregnable to their assaults. This is no fiction! But the day, so long delayed, came at last. Petersburg fell an easy prey to overwhelming force. It emerged from the calamitous results of the war in a wrecked and pitiable condition. Its wealth was swept away. The negroes were free. The whites were poor, dispirited, and crestfallen. Military rule was established. Some of the officers in authority were conciliatory and kind. Not so all. The negroes, as a general thing, behaved well. Many of them clung to their former owners with a tenacity and tenderness that was It were better, perhaps, to pass over in silence marvelous. much that occurred during the period of military rule and reconstruction.

At no distant day after the close of the war the attention of the good people of Petersburg was directed to the inauguration of a public-school system, even in advance of any State action on the subject. The provisions of the system projected looked to the education of the children of freedmen as well as to the children of white parentage. This was a new departure in Virginia. Under the new Constitution public schools came regularly into vogue; and, whatever may have been the prevailing prejudice in the South, and especially in Virginia, against a common-school system, making education equally accessible to all, the poverty to which all classes had been reduced led them to accept it under a sort of protest, and yet from necessity to accept it. Petersburg was not behind any city in the State in taking vigorous hold of the subject. The system was fully inaugurated in 1868. The city, through the Common Council, appropriated \$11,000 to the object. It received from the Peabody Fund \$3,000; and from the Freedmen's Bureau

\$1,400, making a total of \$15,400 which was applied to public school purposes the first year. Four white and four colored schools were put into successful operation. The annual report of the "Board of Education," as it was then styled, shows that 1,003 white, and 1,176 colored scholars had been enrolled for the year 1868. This was the initiative of a movement, the seed planting, so to speak, from which there has already been reaped a harvest that far exceeds any expectation indulged by the most hopeful of the friends of public schools in Petersburg. Appreciative acknowledgment is made by the Board, in its first report, not only of the donation from the Peabody Fund, but also of the liberality of leading publishing houses in New York and Philadelphia in supplying the schools with text-books, as also of the donation of school-room furniture from Mr. Joseph L. Ross, of Boston.

The colored schools were placed at disadvantage at first for the lack of school-room accommodation, and for the want of home influences to stimulate the children and keep them up to their duty. Attendance, as a consequence, was irregular, absence and tardiness, half days and truancy, complained of: a thing to have been expected in the outset. It was a novelty, not to say a grave innovation, in Virginia, to see the colored children-girls and boys, with satchels, slates, books, etc., going to school. None but a Southerner, who has been reared up with negro slaves, can appreciate this remark. Popular prejudice was, at first, decidedly shocked. It is no exaggeration to say that, in the minds of not a few, it excited a species of indignant resentment. This feeling prevailed in Petersburg, as elsewhere in Virginia, and indeed throughout the slave-holding States. The time is past in which we feel any hesitancy in frankly stating what every one knows to be a fact. The white population had, for so long a time, been accustomed to look upon the negroes as inferior to the whites, and really as being incapable, with rare exceptions, of acquiring scholarship, that the idea of culture was deemed as preposterous and absurd as it was distasteful and repugnant to the prevailing popular sentiment. Nor was it till a year or two had passed, and experiment had actually demonstrated the fact that the colored children, suitable allowances being made for heredity, were as apt, under an equality of facilities and appliances, in the acquisition of elementary learning as the average whites, that the prejudice alluded to abated its violence, and the tide of public opinion turned in favor of the education of the negroes in the public schools at corporation and State expense.

The report of the "Board of Education," for the year ending June, 1870, showed a decided advance. The whole number of white scholars enrolled for the year being 1,135; colored 1,526. Receipts for school expenses as follows: city of Petersburg, \$14,500; Peabody Fund, \$2,000; United States Government, through Freedmen's Bureau, \$1,200. Total, \$17,700. According to the United States census for 1870 the population of Petersburg was 18,950—negroes 10,185, whites 8,744; showing an increase of negroes of 1,261 over the census of 1860, and a decrease of 598 in the white population—giving the negroes a majority of 1,741. In this posture of affairs the negroes had the popular vote of the city measurably in their hands, and did elect two colored men as representatives in the State Legislature. This was in 1869. In 1872 the city was represented, both in the House of Delegates and the Senate of the State Legislature, by colored men. Two or three of the wards of the city elected colored representatives in the City Council; and, with the aid of the white Republican vote, controlled the public offices of the city, and dictated the government of the Corporation. The municipal administration was in their hands. Nor was it till 1874 that a change was effected in the administration. During the negro rule, the conservative party became chafed and almost exasperated by reason of the fact that this latter party were the property-holders and tax-payers, and actually had to support an administration that was alleged to be reckless in expenditures. The city was rapidly verging on utter bankruptcy. Many of the wealthiest and best citizens sold ont their property and left the city. Real estate depreciated in value; taxes were increased, and inevitable wreck and ruin were imminent. In 1873 the financial crash increased and aggravated the embarrassments of the situation. The funds at the command of the School Board were inadequate, in consequence of bank failures, in which deposits were held, to meet current demands, and the public schools were on the edge of positive suspension; and, but for the timely aid afforded by Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D., LL.D., agent for the management

and distribution of the Peabody Fund, the public schools would have been closed. The relief afforded met the exigency and warded off the impending calamity. The transfer of the administration to the hands of the conservative party was followed by a healthful reaction. A better state of feeling diffused itself in the community. The cordial support of the public schools by the new administration was a peace-measure -conciliatory to the negroes and promotive of a stronger bond of union between the two races.

The Legislature of 1873 authorized the City Council of Petersburg to issue bonds to the amount of \$40,000 for the purpose of erecting public school buildings; and in the application of this fund no discrimination was made against the negroes. Buildings in every way as commodious and comfortable were erected for them as for the white population. Pending the change of administration, what is known as the Peabody School Building, for the use of the negroes, was under contract and in process of erection. The building was completed and furnished at an expense of something more than \$18,000, and was inaugurated May 7, 1874, Dr. Sears, as a merited compliment, delivering the opening address on the occasion by the invitation of the School Board. It is not necessary to describe the Peabody Building further than to say that it is centrally located in an eligible part of the city; that it is a spacious and imposing structure, with ample accommodations for six or eight hundred scholars; and that in every respect it compares favorably with any public school building in Virginia.

Another school building for the negroes was erected out of the fund appropriated by the City Council, on Jones-street; and the four negro schools which were put in operation at the beginning—not including the large parochial school connected with St. Stephen's (colored) Episcopal Church—were merged into these two schools, the Peabody and the Jones-street schools, furnishing ample accommodation for the whole colored

population of the city.

Omitting further detailed statements as to the history of the public schools in Petersburg, and restricting the line of remark exclusively to the negro schools, we reach 1875, at which time the school census taken for the city showed 3,402 whites between five and twenty-one years of age, and 4,015 colored.

The report of the School Board, however, exhibits a smaller percentage of colored than of white children enrolled for the year ending 1876; but of those enrolled it shows a larger percentage of attendance on the part of the colored than of the white scholars.

In 1874 the Peabody Fund ceased its appropriations for the benefit of the public schools in Petersburg, and left the support of the schools to the city, with such aid as the State could afford under the unsettled condition of public affairs prevailing in Virginia. But by the liberality of the City Council the schools have been kept in successful operation, and at present are not only on a solid footing, but are more firmly intrenched in public favor and confidence than at any previous stage of their history in Virginia. This is recorded with a knowledge of what has been said and written for and against public schools by some of the ablest men of the State; a controversy into which we do not propose to enter.

We pause just here, then, to note some of the results of the public-school system, so far as it relates directly to the colored population of Petersburg, and indirectly as it relates to the negro population of the South. And firstly, it has demonstrably settled the fact that the negro children are as apt in acquiring elementary knowledge as the whites, with this difference, perhaps, that they do not as tenaciously retain their acquisitions in letters as the whites. The rule, however, has its exceptions; for in many instances it must be admitted-and the examples are in this city-that they do not only make as rapid advances as the whites, but really acquire thorough scholarship in the different departments of learning, and carry off medals for proficiency in mathematics and in the languages that would be creditable to any one, of any race or color. It is idle, and only shows the inveteracy of our prejudice, to shut our eyes to the fact that the negroes of the coming generation are just as capable of scholarship and culture as the whites. The negroes, as a general thing, are less provident in forecast than the whites. During the summer season, when family expenses are comparatively light, and the different lines of industry create a demand for labor with fair wages, the colored population have ample means of support, and might lay by something for the coming winter; but they spend their money freely for

melons and fruits of all kinds, and are especially lavish in expenditures on excursions. While money is in hand it is spent without prudent forethought; and, as a consequence, the winter finds them poorly prepared for its rigors, in the way of comfortable clothing and a supply of fuel. Then they have a remarkable penchant for secret societies and for military companies, all of which cost money for fees, dues, and for a showy uniform or a fantastic regalia. Over and above these extravagant expenditures, disproportionate to their wages and income, they pay liberally toward the erection and support of their churches and church enterprises; the consequence is that when the factories are closed in the winter, and labor is not in demand, they are stinted for the means of support for themselves and families. There is, however, a manifest improvement from year to year in all these respects; and experience, that stern teacher, is gradually leading them to more considerate forethought, and to a less extravagant and wasteful expenditure of their summer earnings.

Hand and hand with the progress of education among the negro population of Petersburg there has been a corresponding progress in industry, thrift, morals, and manners of the Their ability to live at less expense than the poor whites has enabled the more provident of them to lay by a larger surplus from their earnings, and, as a result, they are buying lots and putting up comfortable, and in some instances tastefully constructed residences. The marriage relation is recognized by them as of more binding obligation than formerly, both in its civil and moral aspects. The family idea is in healthful growth. Self-respect and self-reliance are on the ad-Citizenship, with its franchises and responsibilities, is beginning to be more highly appreciated, and its duties more faithfully and independently discharged. With the growth of education, linked with the religious idea, there is a development of manliness which is less pliant in the hands of unscrupulous politicians than was the putty, plastic form of the negro at an earlier stage of his citizenship under the new State Constitution and the amended Constitution of the United States.

One must stultify himself not to see and acknowledge these happy results. Along with what has just been noted, there is a manifest development of a laudable ambition on the part

of those who are distinguishing themselves in scholarship to fit themselves for teachers and for the learned professions. Already there is a demand on the part of the colored population for a recognition of their rights to a fair and equitable representation in the "School Board," and the appointment of colored teachers in the colored schools. Public meetings have been held by the negroes on this behalf, and respectful but sharply pronounced resolutions adopted, requesting the Public School Board of the city to consider the obvious propriety and the justice of allowing suitably qualified negroes, male and female, an equal chance with the whites in the election of teachers for the colored schools. The demand is too reasonable to admit of controversy; nor, really, is there any indisposition on the part of the Board to grant the request as vacancies may occur in the colored schools. But there has been and still is an unwillingness to displace thoroughly competent white teachers, who have rendered invaluable service in the colored schools, and who, by reason of long experience, are pre-eminently qualified for the positions they hold, merely to gratify the demand, however respectfully presented, to put inexperienced colored teachers in their places. And yet the Board is ready and willing, when vacancies shall occur in the colored schools, to give colored applicants an equal chance with the whites to fill such vacancies. The time is in the near future, perhaps just now at hand, when this demand will be met without the displacement of white principals and teachers merely to create vacancies. It will come along in the current order of events quite as soon as equal competency and proficiency are found in the colored applicants to fill the vacancies as they may occur in the colored schools.

The present population of Petersburg may be put down in round numbers at 22,000—say, 10,000 whites and 12,000 colored—giving the negroes 2,000 majority in the whole population. At the ballot-box the negroes can poll a larger vote than the whites. But, with this predominance of negro population, we have the gratifying spectacle presented of one of the most quiet, orderly, and peaceable communities anywhere to be found in all these broad lands. There is, comparatively, but little litigation in the civil courts of the corporation; and the police record will compare favorably with that of any city of

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the same population in the whole country. The mayor's court is often held without a case, even of misdemeanor. Felonies are unfrequent, and of those that do occur, which are sent up to higher tribunals, the parties are quite as often white as colored. Disturbances of the peace are not more common among the negroes than among the whites. Life, limb, and property are as secure and as well protected in Petersburg by day and by night as in any city of 22,000 population in the United States of America. This is no idle boasting. The appeal from any question of these facts is to our court records—police, civil, and criminal; and when it is remembered that there are 12,000 negroes and only 10,000 whites in the city, the record is as creditable as it is really wonderful. It is very much questioned whether a parallel can be found in all this country.

How much we are indebted to the public schools for this favorable state of things I will leave to others to decide; but, in my judgment, the wonder-working factor in footing up this result is to be found, in large part at least, in the religious element interwoven with the structure of negro society in

Petersburg.

The First (colored) Baptist Church now has a large and tastefully constructed church edifice, with a seating capacity of 1.200. It has a high steeple, with other imposing external architectural features, fitted up in the interior with spacious galleries, comfortable pews, and other appointments correspondingly commodious and agreeable to the eye. Besides, it has a large lecture-room, neatly fitted up for Sunday-school purposes. This church reports a membership of 2,300 and 600 Sunday-school scholars, with well-assorted library and other appliances for Sunday-school purposes. In connection with this church there is a number of benevolent associations: such as "The Scattered Mission;" "Foreign Missionary Society;" "Relief Association," etc. At public worship the house is crowded, often beyond its capacity. The services orderly; behavior decorous; singing by the choir scientific, not to say artistic, with a superb female soprano and as fine a male tenor as is heard in Virginia.

The new Gilfield (colored) Baptist Church is a larger and finer building than the First Church just noticed. It is one hundred

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feet by sixty, and is built with massive towers, heavy buttresses. mullioned windows filled with ornamented glass, and presents externally a cathedral-like appearance. The auditorium is fitted up in good style, and has, with its unusually deep and spacious galleries, a seating capacity of nearly 2,000. The pitch is high and airy, with slightly vaulted ceiling; the pews of handsome pattern, finished with heavy scrolls; the center aisle broad and richly carpeted; the pulpit an elegant piece of work, and the platform furnished with massive, ornamental chairs; the walls snowy white, and all set off at night in the brilliant light, dispensed by three circles of gas-jets in the upper ceiling, and with bracket lights under the galleries, softened by fine, figured glass shades. The singing by the choir in this church is exceedingly fine. The soprano is led by a culti-The tenor voice is singularly clear, round, vated male voice. smooth, and as sweet as the notes of a silver trumpet. Church reports 2,400 members, 650 Sunday-school scholars, and a number of auxiliary associations in different lines of Christian activity.

The worshipers in these two leading colored churches are. for the most part, well dressed—some of them even stylish in They conduct themselves with great propriety of manners, and are exceedingly polite and respectful to white visit-Besides these two churches there is the Third Baptist (colored) Church, with 440 members, and a Sunday-school of corresponding size. In addition to these Baptist churches, there is the "African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church," with 350 members, and 200 Sunday-school scholars; and the Union-street "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church," with a small member-Besides these, and it is a ship and a good Sunday-school. novelty in Petersburg, there is "St. Stephen's Episcopal Church," presided over by Rev. Giles B. Cook, with 250 communicants and 300 Sunday-school scholars. Under the supervision of Rev. Mr. Cook there is a large parochial colored dayschool connected with this church. The church, with its school enterprises, has received liberal aid from time to time from friends in the Northern States. Indeed, nearly all these colored churches have been assisted in one way or another by the friends of negro education at the North.

In summing up the net results we are amazed at the figures,

and very much question whether any thing approximating a parallel can be found in the world! This sounds extravagant. Let us see. Out of a negro population, in the city of Petersburg, of something less than 12,000—men, women, and children—there are, according to recently revised reports, 5,500 church members; 2,000 Sunday-school scholars, including officers and teachers; and 1,500 scholars enrolled in the public and parochial schools. The church buildings are all large and commodious; the Sunday-schools are furnished with organs, libraries, and school apparatus; and, with only one or two exceptions, the houses of worship and the Sunday-school rooms are in no respect inferior to the church buildings occupied by the white congregations.

Then, in addition to all that has been enumerated, there are several lodges of F. and A. M., Knights of Pythias, and other secret associations. Over and above these there are literary societies, reading-rooms, temperance organizations, and various benevolent societies and orders for the relief of the poor, and for the purpose of defraying the funeral expenses of members who keep up their dues. And yet again, there are three volunteer military companies, and some of these companies, in public parade, make as fine a display as is ordi-

narily exhibited by the best white companies.

Not a few of the colored population attend worship, more or less frequently, at the churches for the whites, to whom there is always awarded comfortable accommodation in the galleries, where seats are set apart for their use. A well-behaved colored man or woman in Petersburg receives courteous, polite, and respectful consideration. Social equality is not recognized, nor is it expected or desired by either race. Citizenship, with all its immunities and without restriction, is cheerfully awarded. The negro is as fairly dealt by in the courts of justice, at the ballot-box, in contracts, and in the ordinary business affairs of life, as the white citizen. They are property owners, shopkeepers, manufacturers, contractors, master-builders, mechanics, and laborers, competing fairly, and without let or hinderance, with the whites. They are constantly improving in morals, in thrift and industry, and are rapidly advancing in civilization, refinement, and learning.

I have been a pastor in the leading towns and cities of North

Carolina and Virginia for the last forty-five years. I was reared up with slaves, and was a slave-owner. Before the war I preached to the negroes, holding for them special services on Sunday afternoons in the lecture-rooms of the churches of which I was pastor. I now have in my family valuable and highly-prized testimonials presented by the colored congregations as tokens of their kind appreciation of my pastoral services. I was surrounded by the slaves during the war, have been cognizant of all that has transpired affecting their condition since their emancipation, especially in Virginia, and yet more particularly in Richmond and Petersburg; and the record I have made in the foregoing paper is unbiased by prejudice on the one hand, or by over-statement on the other. But the negro problem has not yet been worked out to its final results in the Southern States. The record made in this paper is descriptive of the past history and of the present status of the colored population in Petersburg, Va., in this year of grace, 1882. Its application to other localities and communities holds good, no doubt, to a more or less qualified extent. Exceptional cases here and there may compare favorably with Petersburg. What is in process of growth in the womb of the future is beyond any prevision of ours to detect. We possess no "mystical lore" by which to forecast the horoscope of that which is yet to be born. In any attempt to solve the curious problem, a number of factors, patent to every thoughtful observer, must be taken into account. Let us pass in brief enumeration and review only a few of these qualities. Just now we are confronted with the fact that what may be called the conservative element among the negroes in the South is rapidly dying out and hastening to utter extinction. I allude to the surviving remnant of old, faithful family slaves that were in close and intimate association with the whites, and who still retain the sentiment of respect and affection for their former owners and their children. Such were the carriage-drivers, foremen, butlers, and body-servants among the men, and the "mammies," nurses, chamber-maids, and cooks, among the women. These, hitherto, have kept up the bond of union between the two races. The attachment has always been reciprocal. But these are passing away. Their influence is dwindling and must expire. Instead of these there is coming

on a new generation, born free, and reared up with less of deferential respect for the whites. There is more in this, so far as it relates to the future, than is seen at a glance by a casual observer. Then, again, our late census, contrary to expectation, shows a rapid and unprecedented growth of the negro population in the last decade. Add to the foregoing the fact that the "negro exodus," which promised rather than threatened to take off the excess of negro population in some of the Southern States, has proved a phantom. Then, again, superadd the fact that a very large proportion of those who are lured to the Northern cities and States by higher wages than can be obtained in the South, return after a season to their former homes among their own color. Once more, look at the fact that the colonization of negroes from the South in Africa is a pronounced failure. For the present there is no prospect of drainage in that direction. In the light of these factsand others might be adduced—it is perfectly obvious that the negroes now in this country, and destined to be born and reared in what were formerly the slave-holding States, are measurably shut up to Southern soil and sunshine. Here they are invested with all the rights of citizenship. Social equality and intermarriage is a thing at present not "dreamed of." Now, then, with the growth of the negro population in the Southern States, and with but little, if any, prospect of depletion or outlet, who has the sagacity to forecast, or the gift of prophecy to foretell, what is to be the future status of the negro in the Southern States? Who can do but little more than guess, or doubtfully conjecture, what are to be the relations between the two races occupying the same territory, so far as these relations shall affect the civil, social, political, and commercial interests of the Southern States?

How far the education, industry, and ownership of property, together with the moral improvement of the negro population, on the one hand, and the conciliation, fair-dealing, and cheerful award of unmolested citizenship, on the part of the white population, on the other hand, conjoined with a liberal influx of Northern and foreign immigration to fill up and cultivate our sparsely settled lands—a thing so much to be desired—may serve to furnish a satisfactory solution of the questions raised, must be remitted to the silent future for an answer.

ART. VI. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS,

American Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. Methodism and its Methods; by J. G. S. 2. Count Joseph De Maistre; by A. J. Faust, A. M., Ph.D. 3. Westminster Abbey; by Arthur Featherstone Marshall, B.A. 4. Archbishop M'Hale; by John M'Carthy. 5. Protestant Isms and Catholicity in the United States; by Rev. T. J. Jenkins. 6. Galileo Galilei and the Copernican System; by Rt. Rev. P. N. Lynch, D.D. 7. Ireland's Opportunity—Will it be Lost? by John Boyle O'Reilly. 8. The Early Franciscan Mission in this Country; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 9. The Problem of Man's Destiny, How Much has Unrevealed Science Done Toward its Solution? by Rev. S. Fitzsimons. 10. The Supposed Fall of Honorius, and his Condemnation; by J. H. R.

Baptist Review, January, February, March, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. Present Relation of Scientific Thought to Christianity; by Lemuel Moss, D.D. 2. Philo and the Therapeutæ. Translated, with Notes, from the German of Prof. Dr. A. Hilgenfeld, at Jena, by Alfred G. Langley. 3. Theories of the Atonement; by E. Nisbet, D.D. 4. The Resurection of our Lord; by Wayland Hoyt, D.D. 5. The Story of Jephthah's Daughter; by Rev. Charles W. Currier. 6. A Hundred Years of Kant; by Prof. E. Benjamin Andrews.

Christian Quarterly Review, January, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Introduction; by the Editor. 2. Traces of Development in New Testament Thought; by Elder G. W. Longan. 3. Creation or Evolution? by Geo. C. Swallow, M.D., LL.D. 4. The Revised Version of the New Testament; by Elder Robert T. Marka, A.M. 5. The Education of Preachers; by John W. M'Garvey, A.M. 6. Ingersoll in the North American Review; by the Editor, E. W. Herndon, A.M., M.D. 7. The Educated Man; by J. W. Ellis, A.M. 8. Were the Bible and its Religion Plagiarized from other Religions and their Sacred Books, Legends, and Myths? by Clark Braden. 9. The Fellowship of His Sufferings; by Elder J. W. Mountjoy, A.M.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Religion of Evolution as Against the Religion of Jesus; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D. 2. Baptismal Book of the Ethiopic Church. Translated by Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 3. The Revised English New Testament; by M. Valentine, D.D. 4. Ten Years of the Civil Service; by Prof. John A. Himes, A.M. 5. The Young and the German Luther; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 6. Evolution of the Scriptures; by Rev. John A. Earnest, A.M. 7. The Irrepressible Power of Christianity; by S. Sprecher, D.D., LL.D.

New Englander, March, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. The New England Family;

by N. Allen, M.D. 2. Historians of Early Rome since Niebuhr; by Prof. A. G. Hopkins. 3. What is Unitarianism? by Rev. E. A. Lawrence, D.D. 4. The Sacrificial Aspect of Christ's Death, and its Place in the Work of Redemption; by Rev. H. B. Elliott. 5. Science and Phenomenalism; by J. P. Gordy. 6. Sister Augustine: An Old Catholic; by Miss Kate E. Tyler. 7. Address at the Funeral of Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.; by Prof. Timothy Dwight. 8. Leonard Bacon: Pastor of the First Church of New Haven; by Rev. G. L. Walker.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1882. (Boston.)

—1. Memoir of Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, U.S.N.; by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N. 2. Thacher's Record of Marriages at Milton; by Edward D. Harris, Esq. 3. Early History of Groton; by Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D. 4. Montressor's Journal of an Expedition on Snow-shoes in 1760 from Quebec; by G. D. Scull, Esq. 5. Rev. Thomas Welde's Letter, 1643; by William

B. Trask, Esq. 6. The Dover Settlement and the Hiltons; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 7. Braintree Records; by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 8. Sabin Family; by Rev. Anson Titus, Jr. 9. Marriages in West Springfield; by Mr. Lyman H. Bagg. 10. Rev. Thomas Welde's Innocency Cleared; by G. D. Scull, Esq. 11. Deed of Gov. Bellingham; by William B. Trask, Esq. 12. Capt. John Gerrish's Account Book; by Frank W. Hackett, A.M. 13. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 14. Letter of Roger Williams; by Wm. B. Trask, Esq.

PRESENTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Comparative Certainty of Physics and Metaphysics; by Prof. William G. T. Shedd, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Argument from Law; by Gilbert M. Tucker. 3. The Doctrine of the Covenants Considered as the Central Principle of Theology; by the late Prof. A. B. Van Zandt, D.D. 4. The Presbyterian Cultus; by Prof. Samuel M. Hopkins, D.D. 5. The Presbyterial Care of Students; by Prof. James Eells, D.D. 6. Sacramental Wine; by Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 7. Prof. W. Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch; by Prof. William Henry Green, D.D., LL.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1882. (New York.)—1. Future Paper Money in this Country; by Prof. Lyman H. Atwater. 2. The Moral and Religious Training of Children; by G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D. 3. The Concord School of Philosophy; by Pres. James M'Cosh. 4. The Architect and his Art; by John F. Weir, N.A. 5. Anti-National Phases of State Government; by Eugene Smith. 6. The Place of Philosophy in the Theological Curriculum; by Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D.

March.—1. The Private Ownership of Land; by J. M. Sturtevant, D.D., LL.D.
2. Modern Æstheticism; by Prof. Theodore W. Hunt, Ph.D.
3. The Collapse of Faith; by President Noah Porter.
4. Patronage Monopoly and the Pendleton Bill; by Dorman B Eaton, LL.D.
5. Philosophy and its Specific Problems; by George S. Morris, Ph.D.
6. Evolution in Education; by Principal Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1882. (Boston.)—1. The Demonology of Jesus;
by Rev. D. M. Hodge. 2. The Eschatology of St. Paul; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd.
3. Theories of Skepticism: Necessity in Philosophy—Fatalism in Science; by
William Tucker, D.D. 4. The Sin Against the Holy Ghost; by T. J. Sawyer, D.D.
5. The Atomic Theory: The Psychical Basis of Physics; by G. H. Emerson, D.D.
6. Science and Religion; by Orello Cone, D.D. 7. A Prophet; by Rev. I. C.
Knowlton.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1882.

(Nashville.)—1. Polemics. 2. Sir Walter Scott. 3. Our China Mission. 4. Inspiration of the Scriptures. 5. Methodistic Philosophy. 6. Forms of Prayer. 7. Fraternity—Another View. 8. McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia. 9. John B. Wardlaw, Jr., A.M. 10. Blair's Grave.

The article "Fraternity—Another View" is a courteous, but bold and firm, reply to Dr. Miller's article in the last Southern Quarterly, which repeated the old, old history, showing how the South has always been exactly right and the other side always exactly wrong. Dr. Miller's article, as we remarked, was (like a local currency) good within its own section alone, and current there for only a fast-vanishing period. The days of "provincialism" have passed, and emerging into harmony and fellowship with Christendom the history of the period of isolation loses its charm, and falls dead, even on the Southern ear, as a thrice-told tale. Not young in years,

Dr. Kelley is young in heart, and speaks for the young South with a freshness and freedom worthy of Dr. Haygood himself. In his view, as in ours, Dr. Miller's "intensity betrays him into unconscious narrowness." Dr. Kelley well touches upon his absurd assumptions, especially the assuming that in the Cape May Conference we "no longer approve such statements of history as mark the 'Great Secession' by Dr. Elliott."

But Dr. Kelley finds the regular reading of the history, as given by Dr. Miller, to be not only monotonous, but in vital points untenable. He declares "that slavery has come to be recognized so universally as a great moral wrong that the effort to relegate it to the state as a purely civil institution can only be regarded now as a temporary parallax in the vision of good men under trial." And that, coming from the source it does, is a great sentence. It cuts the ties of a miserable "consistency" with the past, it breaks the fetters of that Southern "provincialism" against which the bravest spirits of the South are rebelling. The surrender by Southern Methodism of the right to protest against "a great moral wrong" was, he truly asserts, "temporary" and "under great trial." Now, forty years long we were personally in position to fight that great "moral wrong," and we did it. Were we in the wrong for that forty years for so doing? During our editorial office within those years, we ever denied the Church's right to surrender her responsibilities for "a great moral wrong" to the state, but we ever admitted the palliation that it was done "under great trial." We can give large quotation of our words during the heat of the fight, making full concession of this principle; but we did demand that we, who could from our position denounce the "moral wrong," should not be required to keep silence and so leave the South in irrecoverable subjection to the power that produced the "trial." That single sentence in the fullness of its meaning would settle all controversy between Dr. Kelley and us, and leave us nothing to quarrel about. And the following sentence confirms the covenant: "So far from continuing to hold the doctrine that the Church must abstain from all teaching on civil questions, [on the moral element in civil questions, we would say,] the true . doctrine is, that wherever a moral question has been acted upon

adversely by the state, the necessity for fearless, outspoken truth becomes more urgent upon the part of the Church. And that doctrine at once restores to our beloved sister Church of the South her dignity and her rights, as well as her obligations as the sacred reprover of "great moral wrong," and maintainer of moral rectitude in politics and in legislation as in all departments of responsible life. The true duty of the Church is to be the public conscience.

The cordial yet discriminative feeling of catholic Methodism is thus admirably stated:

The Southern writer who supposes for one moment that the Christian heart and mind of the world, or of that great Methodism which recently took us by the hand in fraternity, in Cityroad Chapel, proposes thereby to indorse the position that slavery was a question on which the Church might for all time be silent, is blind to the most brilliant light of the historic present. Most of our brethren from without seek to forget that we were silent; others kindly remember our labor of love for the slave; the rest look at it as a large stretch of Christian charity to take us by the hand with the thought that "the times of this ignorance God winked at."—P. 96.

The struggle now going on in the Church South against this abdication of the moral rights of the Church well appears in the following trenchant paragraph:

It [the abdication] dissevers us from some of the mightiest moral movements of the age, if we are to be consistent with the position that, as slavery had a civil side, it therefore "lay within the domain of the State—the Church had no jurisdiction of matters belonging to the State." We find in this category the liquor question, the Sunday-law question, gambling in its protean forms, and other ever-recurring matters of vital interest to the Church and the world, all of which have both a civil and a moral side, but from the consideration of which consistency shuts us out. In visiting Conferences for the two past years, it has been a matter of deep interest to watch the efforts to put this new wine in the old bottles. In every case we have witnessed, but one, the attempt to restrain temperance resolutions by applying the old rule, that this belongs to the State, and must not be meddled with by the Church; the wine has burst the bottles, and the old leaders have found their old appeal to history fall on dead ears. This is peculiarly so in the most active Conferences where progress in every Church interest is most marked. Resolutions of the same general type as those which flooded the Methodist Episcopal Conferences forty years ago, in

regard to the abolition of slavery, are passed by large majorities in our Conferences in regard to prohibition and Sunday-laws. This tide cannot be turned back; propelled by the most powerful pulses of the Christian heart, it will know no arrest, no defeat. The time has come when the men who expect to meet the demands of the present, and measure up to the hopes of the future, must be prepared to say fearlessly, We had rather be right than consistent.—Pp. 102, 103.

After all this Dr. Kelley seems to imagine that an excuse must be made out for declining a reunion of the two Churches. The discussion of reunion we think entirely unnecessary. tainly our Church pushes no such measure; and the separation is justifiable on grounds of Christian expediency so long as such grounds exist. There is still uttered in the South a distrust of us as ambitious to "absorb" and to control with despotic power, based upon no facts which are not misunderstood, and maintained only by mistaken repetition. We may appeal to the history of our dealings with our sister non-episcopal Methodisms, after the first years of the strife of their secession or expulsion were over, to decide whether our whole course has not been unassuming, equalizing, cordial, and fraternal. And as partisan feeling subsides, and a friendly survey can be mutually taken of our past, there are not a few misunderstandings of our action which will disappear. Even good Dr. Summers will, we trust, discover that our General Conference of 1848 did not treat the venerable Dr. Pierce with discourtesy, and did not question the validity of the churchdom of the Church South. He will not, we are sure, repeat the statement that the General Conference of 1844 deposed Bishop Andrew; or perhaps, even, that it divided the Church; or that the so-called "Plan of Separation" did any thing more than agree that, if our Southern brethren found it necessary to leave our General Conference and establish a new one over certain territories, we would keep the peace and work only North of said territories. It authorized no "separation," but provided for our own action and the common peace in case of a separation, for which those who erected a new Church should (so it was agreed) assume the responsibility. If Dr. Summers was a judge, and in no sense a party, he would, upon calm survey, so decide. We cast these glances over the past with the hope that the removal of misunderstandings is progress toward peace.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1882. (Andover.)—1. Unintelligent Treatment of Romanism; by Rev. Charles C. Starbuck. 2. A Field of Knowledge Strangely Abandoned; by Rev. George Mooar, D.D. 3. The Practical Determination of Species; by the late Prof. Leonard Marsh, M.D. 4. Specimens of Ethiopic Literature: by Rev. Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 5. The Language of Isaiah xl-lxvi; by Rev. Wm. Henry Cobb. 6. Professor W. Robertson Smith and his Theories of Old Testament Criticism; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 7. The Article in the Revised Version; by Rev. Wm. S. Tyler, D.D., LL.D. 8. Theological Education.

The ninth Article urges the importance of a professorship of natural science in our theological seminaries. It is ably written by a co-editor, Rev. G. F. Wright, a scientist as well as theologian, who has furnished in this Quarterly an excellent exposition and defense of the most pronounced genetic evolution. The difficulty in the proposed professorship would seem to be that a corps of professorships in science would be about equally required, so that we must have a double institution in one, a scientifico-theological seminary. It is important, indeed, that there should be a class of men, like the elder Silliman, Hitchcock, Dawson, Winchell, and Mr. Wright himself, in whose brain both science and theology dwell together.

The following two paragraphs regarding late geological researches are from Mr. Wright's pen:

Dr. Abbott's fame is likely to rest chiefly upon his discovery of Palæolithic implements in the post-glacial terraces of Trenton, New Jersey, an account of which occupies the last two chapters of the volume. From the engravings, any one familiar with the subjects can see that the rough stone implements of man in America differ widely from ordinary Indian arrowheads and hatchets, and indeed that they closely resemble the Palæoliths found in the terrace gravels of northern France and southern England. Their antiquity is further established by a study of the gravel deposits of Trenton where the implements are found. Professor Lewis, of Philadelphia, had, independently of Dr. Abbott, decided, after careful investigation, that the Trenton gravel in which these implements lie stratified is as old as the close of the glacial period; and some of the implements were found sixteen feet below the surface, beneath large boulders.

The study of the river formations which were laid down at that period has but just commenced in this country. It is only a few years since the terminal moraine of the continental glacier was first detected. The work of mapping it is now, however, going rapidly forward, and as the rivers which emerge from the glaciated region into the non-glaciated are studied much light may be expected soon from that quarter upon the absorbing question of man's antiquity in America. Trenton is about seventy

miles south of the extreme southern extension of the ice during ing the glacial period.

If Professor Whitney's conclusions as to the extreme antiquity of the human remains discovered by him in California be accepted. some interesting questions are in store for the evolutionists; for the earliest implements described by him belong to smooth stone type, and the Calaveras skull, which he regards as of the Tertiary age, is large enough and well enough formed to be that of There has not been progress, but degradation, of a philosopher. man since his first known appearance upon the Pacific coast. The more that period is extended into the past, the less easily are the phenomena to be explained upon the theory of evolution. Professor Putnam, however, thinks the long chronology a relief in explaining the diversities which have arisen among the various tribes of America, together with the wide dispersion of The Esquimo carries with him still common characteristics. some of the physical characteristics and arts of ancient California.—Pp. 207, 208.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, February, 1882. (New York.)—1. Do the Spoils Belong to the Victor? by Andrew D. White. 2. A Remedy for Railway Abuses; by Isaac L. Rice. 3. Repudiation in Virginia; by John W. Johnston. 4. The Lancet and the Law; by Henry Bergh. 5. The Christian Religion. Part III; by Prof. George P. Fisher.

March.—1. The Conduct of the Guiteau Trial; by George F. Edmunds. 2. The Progress of the French Republic; by Edward F. Noyes. 3. Trial by Jury; by Edward A. Thomas. 4. The True Lesson of Protestantism; by John Fiske.
5. Law for the Indians; by William Justin Harsha. 6. The Fallacies of Homoeopathy; by Prof. A. B. Palmer. 7. Results of Prohibitory Legislation; by Neal Dow.

Dr. Fisher's defensive survey of the Old and New Testament is a condensed and remarkably able statement. We give two brief, significant, incidental passages.

The first touches on eschatology, thus: "Perhaps the day will come when controversy on this subject will be less heated, and when a more chastened curiosity will exist respecting the statistics of the future world in its far remote eons."—P. 209.

The second glances toward Robertson Smith, thus: "Scholarly criticism tends to the conclusion that there was a growth in Hebrew institutions and laws; that the codes were kept open, the original rubrics being retained; that legislation was added, from time to time, under the guidance of prophets, to suit changing circumstances, new ordinances being looked on as Mosaic for the reason that they were conceived in the spirit, and were considered a legitimate development, of the primitive enactments."—P. 212.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1882. (London.)—1. Evangelical Theology, Living and Progressive; by Prof. J. Laidlaw, D.D. 2. Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century; by Rev. J. Fordyce, M.A. 3. A Bible Reviser of the Fourth Century; by Rev. Robert Henderson, M.A. 4. How is Sin to End? By a Purgatory? by Rev. A. Macleod Symington, D.D. 5. The Spirit of the Father Glorifying the Son. 6. The Latest Outcome of Free Thought in Those who Still Cling to the Name of Christian; by Rev. David Brown, D.D. 7. Note on Luke ii, 49; by W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D. 8. Some Difficulties of Modern Materialism; by Borden P. Bowne. 9. A Sober View of Abstinence; by Rev. Daniel Merriman.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1882. (London.)—1. Father Curci. 2. Fiji.
3. Daniel Defoe. 4. The Latest Development of Darwinism. 5. Americanisms. 6. The British Association Jubilee. 7. Philippi on the Last Things.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1882. London.—1. Literary Clubs of Paris.
2. A Sketch of Individual Development. 3. The Culdees, and their Later History. 4. The Industrial Resources of Ireland. 5. Count Campello. 6. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament. 7. Richard. Cobden.

The following remarkable passage in the article on Cobden is a frank and honorable statement of the change of the position of this Quarterly on the subject of

OUR AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

No periodical in England, not even the London "Times," was during the war more bitter toward the North than this Quarterly, then under the editorship of the late Dr. Vaughan. What rendered that action all the more strange was the fact that this religious Quarterly had from a most lofty ethical elevation always rebuked American slavery, denounced our country for that (as the editor viewed it) enormous crime, and painted the slaveholders in colors of very deep nigritude. It will be seen by this quotation how manfully the Review rejects that vicious "consistency" which would tie it to a mistaken past position, and at once recognizes the truth in regard to that contest as time has revealed and as history will record it. Speaking of a treaty once formed with France, the Reviewer says:

The great lesson to be derived from the conduct of negotiations in relation to the French treaty is that a feudal aristocracy cannot be the fit rulers of a great industrial commonwealth. Cobden had already pointed this out in a speech delivered in 1845—

I say, without being revolutionary, or boasting of being more democratic than others, that the sooner the power in this country is transferred from the landed oligarchy, which has so misused it, and is placed absolutely—mind, I say absolutely—in the hands of the intelligent, middle, and industrious classes, the better for the condition and destinies of this country.

The great question between oligarchy and an industrial democracy was at this time to be fought out on a magnificent scale in the New World. Shortly after the formation of the French treaty, the great civil war began in the United States. Instantly parties began to divide on this issue in England, according to invariable custom. The aristocracy, who had always professed to loathe American slavery, gravitated by a sure instinct to the side of the South, followed by large numbers of middle-class sycophants, and by those who either misunderstood the question or felt envious of the growing power of the American republic, and were not sorry to see it rent asunder. Silly people began to prattle about a "broken bubble," and ignorant persons supposed that the republic must immediately collapse. It is melancholy to think of the nonsense talked in England at that time, still more melancholy to think that great and wise men helped to swell the volume of imbecility. On the other hand, the attitude of the larger section of the working classes, especially the artisans of Lancashire, and of a number of those who represented the best aspects of English culture, will forever reflect honor on England. We must confess to some feeling of disappointment that Cobden himself at first wavered, not understanding the true issues at stake. Mr. Morley gives us the reasons which made him hesitate as to his proper course-

One of them was that he could not for a time bear to face the prospect that the community which had hitherto been the realization on so great a scale of his pacific ideals should, after all, plunge into war just as a monarchy or an oligarchy might have done. The North, by refusing to allow the South to secede, seemed to him at first to be the author of the strife. Another reason why his sympathies wavered was that, though the Southerners were slave-holders, their interest made them free-traders.

These reasons are of course all worth discussion, but they weigh light as the dust compared with the future of a mighty union of republics, consecrated to freedom and humanity. Respecting the third reason, in particular, we may feel sorry that Cobden should have attached supreme importance to free trade. "An economic principle," Mr. Morley very happily says, "by itself, as all sensible men have now learnt, can never be decisive of anything in the mixed and complex sphere of practice." Besides, Cobden should have remembered that, viewed simply from the commercial standpoint, [internal] free trade was already established throughout the vast regions which own allegiance to the government of the Union; whereas if the South had established a separate empire, an artificial boundary would have been erected, along whose immense length would have been placed custom-houses and military stations. Happily Cobden had by him a sagacious friend, whose judgment is rarely at fault when questions of humanity are concerned.

He who had converted so many thousands of people was in this instance himself converted by Mr. Bright, whose sagacity, sharpened by religious hatred of slavery, at once perceived that a break-up of the American Union would be a damaging blow to the cause of freedom all over the world.

The two friends met the illustrious historian Motley at breakfast when the war was just beginning. Cobden attacked something which Motley had been writing in the papers in favor of the Northern cause.

As they walked away down Piccadilly together, Mr. Bright remonstrated with Cobden on the symptoms of a leaning toward the South. The argument was continued and renewed as other arguments had been between them. The time confor Cobden to address his constituents at Rochdale. "Now," said Mr. Bright, with a final push of insistance, "this is the moment for you to speak with a clear voice."

Cobden was aroused, and began to view the question in its true light, and was henceforth recognized as a friend of the North. So clearly did he grasp the issues involved, that it may be doubted whether even Mr. Bright himself put the case more cogently than did Cobden in a speech delivered at Rochdale in November, 1863—

I cannot, if I speak of such a contest as that, say that it is a struggle for empire on the one side, and for independence on the other. I say it is an aristocratic rebellion against a democratic government. That is the title I would give it; and in all history, when you have the aristocracy pitted against the people, in a hand-to-hand contest, the aristocracy have always gone down under the heavy blows of the democracy.

As early, too, as December, 1861, he writes to his friend, Colonel Fitzmayer: "Nothing is more clear to me than that the world is underrating in this struggle the power of the North. . . . As for the slave States, I look upon them doomed in any case to decay and almost barbarism." And on October 25, 1862, writing to M. Chevalier on the subject of blockades, he sums up the case in behalf of the North in such a way as to present the whole subject in the space of two or three lines: "I am by no means so sure as Gladstone that the South will ever be a nation. It depends on the 'Great West.' If Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota sustain the President's anti-slavery proclamation, there will be no peace which will leave the mouth of the Mississippi in the hands of an independent power." Writing in January, 1864, to Mr. Sumner, respecting the chances of Lincoln's re-election, Cobden says, "I hope you will re-elect Mr. Lincoln. He is rising in reputation in Europe, apart from the success of the North." And in a letter to Mr. Sumner, written in August of the same year, he says, "I still look forward with unabated confidence to the triumph of the Cobden lived scarcely long enough to witness the surrender of the Confederacy, but before his own death he knew full well that the death-knell of the oligarchy had been rung in the Western world, and that the republic was safe.—Pp. 175-177.

Cobden died just at the close of the period of oligarchic rule in England. Six months after his own decease came the death of Palmerston, and then followed the short rule of the "last of the Whig prime-ministers," to be succeeded by a new era. The beneficent and humane forces of this new era are now beginning to operate in England and throughout the world. The dawn of

a new day is commencing to light up the earth. Slavery is overthrown in America, France has established a seemingly durable republic, Italy has attained both physical and moral unity, the German states have combined to form a new empire, and the blood-stained rule of the Turk is passing away from the face of Europe. At the same time the emancipation of the working classes has taken place in England; and all these mighty births of time have illustrated the annals of only a few brief years. Cobden was not permitted to fully behold these things, but he saw them afar off, and was persuaded of them, and embraced them; and of him it may surely be said that no other statesman perceived so clearly the nature of the new arrangements of society; no other worked with such upright integrity, such "enthusiasm of humanity," to render visible the new political forces to the minds of his fellow-men.—Pp. 178, 179.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. Santal Kherwar-Ism in the Santal Pergunnas, and Chutia Nagpore; by Rev. A. Campbell.

2. The Great Commission; by Rev. J. Hay.

3. Missionary Pessimism; by Rev. J. E. Scott.

4. Patna, Gaya, and Benares — Buddhism and Hinduism.

5. Hindu Gods and their Incarnations; by John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.

6. Relief for Native Christians who were Married in Childhood; by Rev. R. A. Hume.

7. Government Abkari, and the Rapid Increase of Drunkenness in Northern India; by Rev. Thomas Evans.

German Reviews.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1882.

Second number. Essays: 1. Usteri, Zwingli's Doctrine of Baptism. 2. Weser, The Various Conceptions of the Devil in the New Testament. Thoughts and Remarks: 1. Köstlin, On the Words of Jesus—"He that is not with me is against me." 2. Kawerau, An Episode from the Conflict Between the Followers of Flacius and those of Melanchthon. Review: Historical Preliminaries of Pietism. Miscellanea: 1. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society of Haarlem for the Year 1882. 2. Programme of the Theological Society of the Hague for the Year 1882.

There seems just now to be in Germany a revival of interest in the study and nature of Pietism, which has for some years been the goal of a great deal of ill-merited abuse and contempt. This feeling is evidently a reaction against the fierce and unbridled religious liberalism of the day, which is fast leading men into the fathomless abyss of Unbelief. Hence the timeliness of the article on the antecedent history of this phase of Christian belief and activity. And quite a host of writers contribute to early researches on this subject, which form the

basis of this acceptable and interesting article. Among others we may quote Heppe on the History of Pietism in the Netherlands, Ritschl on the same in the Reformed Church of Germany, and several other distinguished Dutch and German au-These two nationalities seem to cling more closely to the subject than the others, some of whom wander off to the Puritans of England and the Baptists of Germany. The same change that has taken place in the few last decades regarding the history of the Reformation may now be observed in that of Pietism. Investigators seem inclined to go further back for the sources of history, not stopping, as of yore, with Spener and Franke, and regarding them as the foundationlayers and leaders of the movement, and Zinzendorf as the offshoot. Now we are taken back in Germany to the era of the Thirty Years' War and the persecutions of the heretics, and in England to the seventeenth century, with its "inner life" and its significance for the continental development of this conviction. Thus the Puritans, the Independents, the Baptists, and even the Quakers receive their share of responsibility and praise for their influence on this great continental movement. In the Netherlands especially new threads are found that clearly bind one generation with another; and in Switzerland the conception of the history of the Reformation becomes modified the more the investigators study the contrast between the German spirit of Zwingli and the French spirit of Calvin. The period seems now to have arrived when the results of these individual studies may have a broader application and become the common property of the great religious public.

One worker seems to rise on the shoulders of the other in raising the common edifice. Without the loving investigations of Neander concerning the most various religious individualities; without the capital biography of Spener by Hossbach; without the rich memories and anecdotes of Tholuck, the comprehensive works in which Gass, Dorner, and Franke draw the pietistic phase of theology would have found no firm foundation. It is pleasant to see that these noble workers wrought in a harmony that they knew not of, and that the edifice raised by their common labors may now become a retreat for earnest Christians, in whose shelter they can point back to the fathers as the authors of their faith.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXIV.-23

THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger. Vol. V, No. 2. Essays: 1. Jacobi, History of the Hymns of the Greek Church. 2. Bartels, Contributions to the History of Pietism in East Friesland and the Neighboring Provinces. Critical Review: History of French Protestantism, Literature of the Years 1870-1880. Second Paper. Analecta: 1. Boor, Manuscript Document of the Church History of Euagrius. 2. Kolde, The Oldest Account of the So-called Prophets of Zwickau. 3. Kolde, Contemporaneous Accounts of the Troubles in Wittenberg in the Years 1521 and 1522, 4. Bernhard, On the History of the Proposed Conference in Pforzheim in 1558, being likewise a Supplement to the Correspondence between Melanchthon and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 5. Miscellanies by Boor, Harnack, and Kawrau.

The "Journal for Church History" also touches the popular subject of Pietism, confining itself to that phase found in the quaint province of East Friesland, as conservative in its religious ways and convictions as in its mediæval costumes. prefer, however, to call attention to a leading criticism on the various works recently published in the interest of the history of French Protestantism. The Germans seem quite as effective now in treating their French antagonists with the pen as of late with the sword. Let us hope that they will continue to wield the mightier weapon, in the terms of the aphorism. The history of French literature in this field, from 1870 to 1880, comprises four leading works-one on the Protestant fugitives in Switzerland, another on the Protestant banker in France in the seventeenth century, controller of the finances, Barthélemy Herwarth; a third on the general history of Languedoc, with fresh additions by new pens; and finally the fall of the Protestant party of France and the Duke de Rohan. This, it will be understood, is simply the literature of four years, which shows how great is the activity in that line of thought and labor.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. drew the eyes of all Protestant Europe to the unfortunate condition of the French Reformers, and made still wider the gap between the persecuted and the persecutors. And since that period this eventful deed has been an enticing subject for Christian historians, and even yet has its attractions. Germany has ever regarded it with interest because, if for no other reason, so many of these poor exiles found a refuge in various parts of that land. They were welcomed in Protestant Germany because of their religion, their industrial skill, and steady and laborious habits. They settled in Saxony, the Palatinate, Würtemburg, Hesse, and Brandenburg, and established soon,

in all these places, their peculiar industries, and thus attached the Germans to their fortunes, who followed them very closely, and wrote exhaustive histories of the various colonies. In Berlin they were awarded a special quarter of the city, which became known as the French quarter, and where they built a church, still bearing the cognomen of the French Church. Their exile from their native land impoverished it as much as did their industry enrich that to which they fled. Their descendants preserved the language and the skill of their fathers, but became so much attached to the land of their adoption that they were ready to fight its battles even against invading France; and in the last great struggle between France and Germany some of the prominent officers at the head of the German soldiers bore French patronymics. These were the descendants of the Huguenots avenging the injustice done to their fathers. They enjoyed the supreme pleasure of helping to break the chains that were forged for their ancestors, and their brothers in the Reformed faith have now become the dearer to them because of their long separation and sad history. As a result, the Germans are studying with more interest than ever the history of French Protestantism, which has now virtually become an ally in breaking a power that so long kept its iron heel on the German neck. Nothing of interest now appears in France in regard to the history of the Protestantism that has so long lived and heroically suffered within its borders that is not immediately made the subject of study, criticism, and perhaps enlargement from the sources that the Germans possess in large measure from the French colonies that took refuge among them to escape the persecution of their own nationality because of their religious convictions. And hence this very learned article on a subject that is quite as much discussed in Germany as in France.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) November, 1881.—1. ROERICH, Positiv ism and its Founder, Auguste Comte. 2. Dartigue, A Vision of Saint Paul, or the Evangelization of France. 3. The Law of Labor, E. W. 4. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicle. Literary Notices by Alone, and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

December, 1881.—1. Pressensé, To our Readers. 2. Bersier, The Supernatural in the Life of Christ. 3. Stapfer, Five Unpublished Letters of Benjamin Constant. 4. Roerich, Positivism and its Founder, Auguste Comte. 5. Bridel, Philosophical Chronicle, Literary Notices. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

January, 1882.—1. PRESSENSÉ, Of the Origin of Religion. 2. ROBERTY, The Apostle Paul According to Prof. Sabatier. 3. Stapfer, Unpublished Letters of Voltaire. Literary Chronicle by Sabatier, English Chronicle by E. W., and Monthly Review by the Editor.

Dartigue, on the "Evangelization of France," in the November number of this bright and crisp Review, calls attention to the greatest danger and trouble of religious reformers at the present excited period, namely, that of political barnacles that will insist on clinging to their vessel. It was on this rock that Père Hyacinthe split in Geneva—it was virtually impossible for him to form a liberal religious body of any kind without the undesirable adhesion of great numbers who came to him, not because he had any thing in the line of pure religion, but rather because his opposition to a state or conservative religion helped them in their political opposition to the state.

The French Protestants, in their revived life, see the same troubles ahead, and are calling the attention of their people to them in such terms as these from Dartigue: "To-day the dominant passion is politics; it touches every thing, and it is very difficult absolutely to abstain from it. After a régime of despotism or precarious tolerance we are at last enjoying an almost unlimited liberty, for which we are thankful to the government. From this to politics there is but one step, as we see by the warm reception given to all political allusions. Free-thinkers, notorious unbelievers, municipal councils both antichristian and irreligious, place at our disposition all their localities, and come and applaud us with excess. And why? Is this from conviction, or from sympathy with the truths that we announce? Not at all! It is simply because they find in us aids to their political aims, with which they would not be sorry to see us associated. But let us beware when we, ministers of a positive and revealed religion, are applauded by freethinkers. Let us open our eyes to this strange and abnormal fact, and repel this factitious and deceitful support that they would give us. As disciples of the eternal Gospel, let us remain faithful to the wholly religious mission confided to us by our divine Chief. Let us not lower the word of God into the noisy arena of political parties, to espouse their quarrels and share their vicissitudes. Christianity, like its founder, is eternal, and adapts itself with marvelous facility to all forms of government. For the pitiful pleasure of applause let us not lower the Gospel to that which is terrestrial, transitory, and

unworthy of it."

And in this same significant article Dartigue touches another kindred trouble that faces these Christians in their Church organizations: there are signs of large access to their membership from those who have no knowledge of their belief, and in reality no sympathy for it, but who would simply use the Protestant Church as a sort of livery of heaven for themselves and their families on breaking away from their connection with the Catholic Church. Dartigue does not believe in immediately inviting these persons to become members of their churches and to embrace Protestantism. He would welcome all who come spontaneously, and with serious motives, seeking God with some comprehension of the consequences of their determination; but he would reject those who come by excitement, caprice, or interest, or in a fit of anger at a religion that they would no longer serve. And he therefore warns the leading Protestant speakers, in their popular addresses to the masses, to remember that the essential object is not so much to obtain an adhesion to some fixed ecclesiastical form as to enlighten and edify inquiring souls. In Jesus Christ he would find neither Catholics nor Protestants, but simply believers.

The article on the "Law of Labor" in the same number is essentially democratic, and heralds a new departure in the social theories of France. The author is especially severe on that class that have become suddenly rich through successful trade, and are now inclined to shirk the burdens of state. This bourgeoisie has never been renowned for a character of self-sacrifice, and it is now becoming so numerous that its defection is a matter of alarm to all patriots: "Many a millionaire whose name alone is now a power commenced his career with no

other capital than his intelligence and an ardent desire to succeed. And, nevertheless, this man, who owes all he has to labor, has brought up his son in habits of idleness, and made of him one of the most useless members of society. The swells and fops of the day, the so-called jeunesse dorée, are for the most part sons of these wealthy bourgeois, who by their foolish extravagance and forced luxury are trying to make the world forget that all they possess comes from the toilsome life of their parents. These contemners of labor who have sprung up like mushrooms in the last thirty years, and are the most miserable and useless members of society, have every-where left behind them germs of death and putrefaction. France owes to them a goodly portion of her shame in defeat. When they were wanted in her hour of trial many of them had fled to foreign lands, and those who were forced into the field in the mobilized corps were the first to flee at the sight of the enemy, and thus paralyze the heroic efforts of their chiefs and comrades.

There is a marked revival of Pauline study in France, as may be seen in the critique in the January number of the Review, by Roberty, on the recent work on St. Paul by Sabatier, of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. In their new-born liberty the Protestants of France are seized with a desire to regard and represent the apostles as living beings; and of these St. Paul is the one whom they would study as an example for the great work before them. And for those who are curious to know the various phases of the faith of Paul, the learned and engaging work of Sabatier responds fully to their desires, for his pre-eminent aim is to sketch the history of the thought of the great apostle. Sabatier grandly describes the progressive element in Paul, and shows the connection which closely unites his various phases of thought to the great periods of his Christian life: the first, that of missionary activity, corresponds to the missionary discourses of the Book of Acts and the Epistles to the Thessalonians; the second, that of the fierce struggles against the Judaizers; and the third, the epoch of the first appearance of gnostic asceticism, giving birth to the Epistle to Philemon, to the Colossians, to the Ephesians, and the Philippians. The end of the Book of Acts corresponds to this last period. The picture of Paul, as drawn by Sabatier, is complex and striking, bringing out every phase of

his decided character, and thus making him a splendid model for an apostle armed for the conflict with the modern world in France, where the flood of materialism threatens a second deluge which can only be stayed by the man within the ark.

ART. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

This seems just now to be the ruling question among the Protestant communities of France, Italy, and Switzerland. And in the latter country an incident has just occurred in connection with it that has brought out the discussion into bold relief. The National Church in the canton of Vaud has been guilty of seconding very extreme measures on the part of the State Council of the canton against a devoted and prominent pastor at Orbe, mainly because of liberal opinions expressed in his journal, Evangile et Liberté, in regard to the organization and success of the Eglise Libres, or "Free Churches." The only overt act of which they could accuse him was his co-operation with the Sabbath-schools of the Free Churches, most probably because he found none within the pale of the national Churches. The Synodal Commission of the Church would have condemned him to a censure, but the State authorities went a step further and suspended him from the exercise of his pulpit duties for two months, which virtually means cutting him off from the Church, because it is not at all probable that he will change his opinions or his works because of this cryingly unjust verdict. Narbal's case is now being made a test question among the Latin Protestant Churches, and the question is being quite significantly asked as to whether alliance with the Church is to gag a man from any expression of sympathy with those who think just as he does, but prefer, in the exercise of their religious convictions, to be free from State control. This very unwise measure on the part of the Cantonal Council will certainly be condemned openly by that fraction of the State Church that is not wedded to such chains. They may prefer the system of national religion to that of independence, but they can scarcely choose to make a yoke of it under which they must bend at the risk of excommunication. This is certainly the surest way to bring their Church into discredit. With brotherly feeling on each side it will not be at all difficult to bring both branches of the Protestant Churches in the Latin countries together.

At the Synodal Union of the Free Churches of France, recently held in Paris, there was great generosity expressed touching questions of doctrinal diversities, and the constitution of these Churches preserves them from like conflicts, because, while guaranteeing the unity of the faith for essential things, it allows much liberty to theological thought. And this Union of the Free Churches looks quite calmly at the fact of no increase within the last few years for the very simple reason that a section

of the official Church is making visible progress toward a realization of the very principles that called the Free Churches into being. At this Union meeting the delegate from the official Synod—fraternal delegate—openly acknowledged this tendency of his wing of the Church, and under the pressure of events predicted the early triumph of the principles of Vinet, of which he declares himself a disciple. The synod applauded these words, and also those of their own president, who declared that the most ardent desire of the Free Churches was to disappear as soon as possible in order to rally to the grand Evangelical Reformed Church of the day as soon as the official bonds, which are now becoming heavy, should fall.

A great many of the Liberals in France and Italy fear to break the connection between the Church and the State, lest the removal of the restraint that the Concordat clearly exercises might give rein to an unbridled violence on the part of the Church where it is strong enough to assume it. This view of the case has just been admirably treated in Italy by Signor Minghetti, a statesman who has long enjoyed the highest political and civil honors, in an excellent little work that has just been translated into French. The author is a man of very large experience, a colleague and co-laborer of Cavour. He meets those who warn the nation against Cavour's motto-"Chiesa libera in Stato libero," (A free Church in a free State,) and bids it beware lest there arise from it a " Chiesa armata in Stato disarmato," (An armed Church in a disarmed State.) Minghetti devotes his book to resolving this question, the only one of much import now against the separation. He shows with great skill all the evil that the old system brings into the religious field, even under the milder form of the Concordat. He regards it a violence to compel those of other convictions to support creeds that they do not believe, and declares that the union between Church and State, as it exists to-day, is highly irrational. But his most valuable thoughts are those devoted to the measures of transition and legislation necessary to the security of the State and the liberty of the Churches. believe that factious ultramontanism would find its account in the bond thus broken; he argues that it would be forced by this to yield to necessary reforms. And to these it would soon have resort if the civil power should demand that all the owners of ecclesiastic property should be elected by the congregations, and be laymen, with the privilege of mortmain abolished. To the great body of believers of the various Churches who express fears as to the destiny of religion left to itself, he replies by the most noble words on the unextinguishable thirst for the divine which consumes the human soul, and which appears with renewed intensity in those who feel that they have been deceived. Minghetti, though an Italian statesman, shows that he has wisely studied the burning thoughts of Vinet, and the translator Laveleye, a Belgian Liberal, in his beautiful preface, warns the French Republic to beware of the faults of its fathers in 1792, and reminds it that the only revolutions that are successful are those that reach the conscience and rely on religious renovation.

THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The unsettled state of affairs in the principalities of the Danube and the regions bordering the Adriatic and Egean seas, has caused a long season of excitement and uncertainty to the Oriental Churches. This has been especially the case among the populations belonging to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the national Church of Servia, whose center is at Karlowitz, a new patriarch was to be elected in the place of one deceased. The Servian Convention elected two Bishops that belong to the national Servian party, and who for that reason were unacceptable to the Hungarian government; the result was that the latter finally appointed one, and the Convention accepted him. The Russian influence on the clergy of Servia and of the Servians in Hungary is still very strong, and makes them difficult subjects for the Austrians. While an Austrian ministry was in power, the Metropolitan of Belgrade, who was friendly to Russia and would not yield to Austria, was deposed. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there is much dissatisfaction among the adherents of the Eastern Church at the favoritism shown the Catholic propaganda by the new episcopal seat at Serayewo. On the contrary, the Greek Oriental Church of Roumanian nationality in Hungary and Transylvania is greatly on the increase under the head of the Metropolitan of Hermanstadt; it now numbers over five and a half million souls. To the district of this ecclesiastical prince there have been added two Episcopal dioceses that are now to receive an increase of two more. Temeswar will be the new episcopal residence, where there are already a Roman Catholic and a Servian bishopric. It is a mystery why the Austrian government does not unite the Roumanians and the Servians under one Church authority. The difference of national spirit between these two nationalities would afford the best protection against political combinations which are dangerous to the State. But it has ever been the doctrine of the Catholic Church in Austria to separate its antagonists into as many parties as possible, so that it could conquer by dividing them.

One gratifying feature now growing among the Oriental Churches is the desire for a better training of the clergy, in consequence of which steps have been taken to enlarge existing theological schools and erectnew ones. Thus the school of Rizarios at Athens, that has existed for a generation without any advance, is now to be thoroughly rebuilt and enlarged. The renovated school will open in the spring with a greatly extended curriculum. The Theological Seminary of the orthodox Churches of Turkey, on an island in the Sea of Marmora, has also been much enlarged. In Roumania, where hitherto there have been but two schools of inferior rank, the government is occupied with a plan to establish a theological school of higher grade in Bucharest. Similar institutions are very much desired by the Bulgarian clergy, which at present counts but very few cultured men. A Bulgarian Episcopal Synod lately met in Sofia under the presidency of the exarch, but for the nonce it has so much to do in the arrangement of the hierarchy under the new

order of things, that the question of a better training of the clergy was put off till a more convenient period. Three episcopal chairs are to be established in Bulgaria, and the clergy are to be paid out of the State fund. The question is as to how much the young principality can grant for this measure when the military power of the country needs so much of the nervus rerum to put it on a respectable basis. And then, in Bulgaria and among the Greeks, there is a great lack of educated clergy, so that there is great embarrassment in Greece in filling seventeen episcopal chairs now vacant, and for each one of which there must be three candidates from whom to choose. This is also increased by the fact that several bishops have lately been convicted of simony, and judicially removed from their chairs. The acquisition of a large part of Thessaly and a section of Epirus forces the Greek Church in these districts to undertake a thorough reorganization of the Church, whereby a veritable Augean stable needs cleansing.

It would seem that the cloisters also need a good deal of purification. Some of those in Thessaly have for a half century been in active cooperation with a class of brigands! These establishments are on the summit of inaccessible precipices, seemingly floating in the air, and their intercourse with the outer world is by means of ropes that raise and lower the inmates and visitors. Those are magnificent retreats for robbers, but this romantic collusion between monks and brigands must now cease under the rule of the Greek government. The entire question of cloisters in these regions is likely to be investigated pretty severely Turkey recently claimed the right for Mount Athos to several filials of this kind in Roumania, and asked the German government to help it in the acquisition of some of this property within the Roumanian borders. But the German Foreign Office gave a very discouraging reply, and hinted that the other great Powers would do the same. The French embassador in Constantinople would do nothing in the matter because, years ago, he recommended a secularization of the cloisters in Roumania. The Turkish claimants tried certain judicial proceedings, and had the mortification of a bill of costs to settle. It will hardly be possible to deny to Roumania the right to secularize its cloisters when this same right is now being largely exercised by all the Powers which have such within their limits. Russia and Greece, especially, long exercised this right, and are inclined to continue the work.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Germans are doing a great deal of systematic work in the missionary line, and are taking the best means to put it on record as they go along. The well-known Grundemann has just completed a very important work which he modestly calls a "Minor Missionary Library," (Kleine Missions-Bibliothek,) in four volumes, published by Velhagen &

Klasing, Leipsic. But, in the first place, with its four stately volumes it is not so very small, and the distinguished missionary author has worked at it with skill and diligence for eight whole years. And that we may know the fullness of the contents that fill these pages we will give a hasty sketch of them. The first volume treats of America in three divisions: the Esquimaux in Greenland and Labrador; the Indians in North and South America; and the Negroes in North and South Amer-The second volume comprises Africa, again in three principal divisions: The freed and the free Negroes in West Africa; the various tribes of Southern Africa: the continent and the islands of Eastern Africa. The third volume treats of Asia, Hither India and Farther India, China and Japan. The fourth volume takes the Indian Archipelago; Polynesia; New Zealand and Micronesia; Melanesia and Australia. Dry as these divisions may seem, they nevertheless show how far the author takes his readers around in the world, while he every-where shows them something. And his information bears the impress of being solid and from reliable sources, so that he makes his readers acquainted with the lands and their inhabitants. And he does not stop simply with the mission story, but treats of the geography, ethnology, religious history, and linguistics of the regions described. In this work we find, therefore, a sort of Universal History of heathen lands and nations, which is in itself a striking proof of the intimacy between the mission work and general culture. He well shows the significance of missionary effort in the advancement of science, commerce, and civilization. Indeed, in this work the annals of missions and civilization are interwoven, and Christianity is shown to be the secret of the power of civilized nations. Missionary success has made it clear that Christianity is fitted to be a universal religion; for it is practically taught to all nations, and is adapted to all needs; it penetrates all conditions of life and regenerates all nations where it takes root, not only religiously, but also morally, socially, and politically. Grundemann clearly proves these positions by the record, and makes out a peculiarly strong case against the enemies of Christian Missions. His work is thus of great value, and the Germans claim that it has no compeer in any literature. It will, doubtless, be read far and wide, notwithstanding its four bulky and weighty volumes, and the price, which is a little heavy for the German purse-seven dollars and fifty cents in Leipsic, and about ten dollars here.

The famous publishing firm of Hachette & Co., of Paris, has just gained new honor among savants through a beautiful work on the History of Art in Antiquity. It will finally contain six volumes in royal octavo, treating of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Etruria, and Rome. Parrot and Chipiez are the authors of the first volume, on Egypt, which has just appeared, and is very welcome just now when the French are making such strenuous efforts to gain political, and we may say social, control of that land. The volumes begin with Egypt because the authors claim that this land is the mother of civilized nations of antiquity. As soon as one undertakes to group and present the

great nations of old according to their development, and to seek to determine which part of the work belongs to each one of them, and to develop the progress made in successive efforts down to the advent of Christianity and the formation of the modern world, one feels constrained to commence with Egypt. The first impressions that remain in the memory of humanity are of Egypt. There we find the most ancient monuments on which thought is fixed and has been transmitted by writing or some expressive form which has nobleness or beauty. It is, therefore, in Egypt that the historian of Art meets the first monuments on which he would fix his researches, and with Egypt that the two eminent historians have commenced the issue of this work on Art in Antiquity. In order to show the care which presides over the preparation of this work, it will suffice for us to give the names of their collaborators : they are Mariette Bey, recently deceased; Maspero, the learned professor of the College de France, and now director of the Museum of Boulak in place of Mariette: Pierret, the eminent savant of the Louvre; Rhone, and Desjardins. Gerome opened to them his cartoons, and Leroux his albums of travel. Among the engravings on zinc and steel are some by the first artists of France. L' Egypte contains plates in color and in black engraved apart, and about five hundred engravings set in the text. The whole work is a veritable monument of art,

The Revue Chretienne begins the new year with renewed vigor and large promise. It proposes in the future to deal less in ecclesiastical controversy, because the causes of division in the Reformed Church of France are rapidly disappearing. What needs to be rescued to-day, more than any thing else, is religious liberty, which now runs great risk of being despoiled by authoritative democracy in contradistinction to liberal democracy in the form that it has now assumed. The defense of religious liberty the Revue now considers to be the primordial duty, and claims that this can scarcely be effected otherwise than by the separation of Church and State; this therefore is the platform of this organ of the Church in future, and to this object the Revue will devote all its strength, without neglecting the movements of affairs and ideas. The new Press Law in France gives to thinkers all their liberty for the discussion of every matter pertaining to political, social, and religious questions. That this work will be well done in the columns of this live Revue is clear from the co-workers in this cause. The editorial columns will still be under the control of Pressensé, who will also furnish the "Monthly Review." Lichtenberger, Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Protestant school in Paris, will be a frequent general contributor, and will also regularly supply the "German Chronicle," for which he is admirably fitted from his long residence in Strasburg, and thorough acquaintance with the German language and German governmental and ecclesiastical policy. Among the contributors we notice Sabatier, Bridel, Bersier, Naville, Astie, Bonnet-Maury, Roberty, and other very noted names among the French Protestant scholars. A new era of successful activity is evidently before these gifted men and this sacred cause.

The French Protestant publisher of Paris—Fischbacher, 33 Rue de Seine—is kept quite busy now in issuing the numerous works that come from the pens of the leaders of the Reformed Church. We notice some of the most recent and attractive ones: Meditations pour Chaque Jour de l'Année, by Lichtenberger, Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris. La Royauté de Jesus-Christ, by Eugene Bersier. Le Regne de Dieu, by Pastor Mouchon. Lettres de Alexandre Vinet, by Secretan and Rambert. The death of the lamented Pastor Bost, founder of the famous Asylums of Laforce, has induced a beautiful biographical sketch of him by Bouvier-Monod, a life-long friend. Then we have studies on the French writers of the Reformation, such as Favel, Calvin, Vinet, and D'Aubigné, and a History of the Reformed Churches by Lamarche, to say nothing of many minor though interesting works.

A very valuable German Review, published by Brockhaus, of Leipsic, bears the name of Unsere Zeit-(Our Times, a Review of the Present.) Its aim is to give a comprehensive view of all the great questions of the hour in all their shades of intelligent thought, and thus form a species of companion-piece to the great English and French reviews. It is a monthly of ten royal octavo sheets, and is crowded with interesting and useful matter. It has been published for many years; but two years ago it was reorganized, and appeared with a greatly enlarged programme, which has given it a more important position. It now offers the most widely varied essays on the current period and its events, and gives a connected presentation of the latest developments in every field of culture. An interesting specialty is made up of the biography or "Portraits," that is "pen-portraits," of prominent individuals. In addition to this there is a department for Belles-Lettres, political and asthetic essays, sketches of travel, and questions of natural science, etc. It is on the whole a most comprehensive and solid publication, and holds a unique place among German Reviews, and receives a generous patronage, which it richly deserves.

With the continued excitement in regard to the Jews, both in Germany and Russia, it is not wonderful that Semitic literature is still in demand. Several new work sare announced from the Leipsic press, among which we notice: "The Jews in Historical Presentation, and the Modern Jewish Question," by Dr. Herman; Andree's "Popular Delineation of the Jews," with a map of their expansion over Central Europe; Hommel, "The Semitics," and their significance in the history of civilization, with maps showing their present position and status. The first of these above-named works bears the closest relation to the Jewish question of the present hour. It begins by affirming that the Jews and their history stand in the closest connection with the highest and most important problems of the world's history. It presents the formation of the character of the Jews under the influence of the Talmud, and finds the chief source of the present antipathy against them in the exclusion of their mode of life from other nationalities; and the principal cause to

be the present influence of the Jews in the development of modern political thought, and their influence in the exchange of modern times, together with a weakening of the bonds of Protestantism.

A pleasant fact in the announcements of the German Universities during the present winter semester, is the very large attendance of theological students. Leipsic is said to have nearly five hundred in theological studies. This will give heavy work to the noted teachers of that institution. And this affords us an opportunity to correct an error in our last number in this department, in naming Friedrich Delitzsch as the veteran teacher in this school. Franz Delitzsch is the well-known teacher and author. Friedrich, the Assyriologist, is the worthy son of a worthy sire.

ART. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

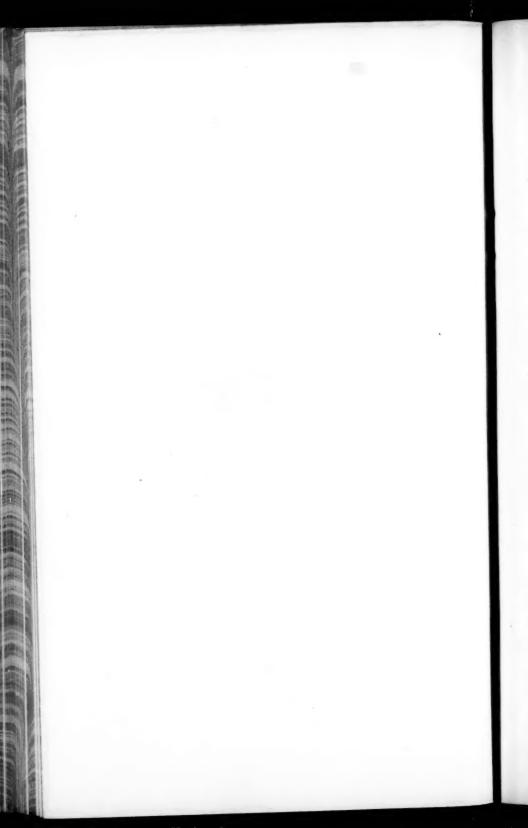
A Compendium of Christian Theology. Being Analytical Outlines of a Course of Theological Study, Biblical, Dogmatic, Historical. By Wm. Burt Pope, D.D., Theological Tutor Didsbury College, Manchester. 8vo, Vol. I, pp. 456; Vol. II, pp. 451; Vol. III, pp. 493. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880. Price per vol., cloth, \$8.25; sheep, \$10.50; per set, \$30.

The adoption of Dr. Pope's Theology as a text-book before it was received in this country or read in full was doubtless a great compliment to that distinguished theologian. edition in a single volume, and less extensive in its discussions, had, indeed, been examined by a few, but all beyond that was indorsed by anticipative faith. It was, therefore, a gentle surprise to the Church, and we were generally obliged to wait and study for ourselves to know what we are expected to accept by this dispensation. We do not indorse the complaint that, as we had in Dr. Raymond's work a very able theology from an American pen, patriotism required the adoption of that as our standard. is no proper sectional or national division in theology. want the best from whatever quarter. Excepting upon a single point, however, we do hold Dr. Raymond's work as representing our Wesleyan theology more accurately than Dr. Pope's. deed, our American theological history, the theological opponents we have had to meet, and whom we have met with very victorious result, has given us a training, in theodicy especially, unknown to our English brethren. Hence, Fisk and Raymond are in this department clearer, and, we may add, more Wesleyan, than Watson or Pope.



REV: WILLIAM B. POPE. D.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE 1877



Dr. Pope's translation of Stier's Words of Jesus early revealed his rich theological scholarship. Among his publications are Sermons, Addresses, and Charges, delivered during the year of his presidency of the British Conference; The Prayers of St. Paul; and The Person of Christ, a stately piece of schoolman's theology. His translation of Winer's work, with his notes, noticed in a former QUARTERLY, is one of the best, if not the best, concise presentations of comparative Christian theology extant. His great theological work now before us is the result of his professorial lectures at the Wesleyan Theological Institution at Didsbury. It will take an eminent and prominent rank among the systematic statements of Christian doctrine. It lacks the majestic fullness and power of Watson; and does not roll out the luminous oratorical periods and paragraphs of Raymond. It wants somewhat the energetic rush of thought and style demanded by modern intensity. But it is generally lucid and flowing, making the subject understood, not so much by concise, incisive, and strait-lined statements, as by repetitive clauses and brief additional touches. It is admirably divided and titled for a text-book; its history of theological dogmas is very valuable to the student; its clear demarcation of our Weslevan-Arminian variations of doctrine from the old pure Hollandic Arminianism is wisely introduced; and the student not only knows the doctrine, but knows where it stands on the theological map. Had he added a few occasional sections of bibliographical hints, guiding the student to the best authors for theological reading, the value of the work would have been enhanced. On the whole, the work has advantages for a student's recitation-book not found in any other publication.

It is usually said that Methodist doctrine is every-where one. And in regard to its great structure and outlines this is true. Yet this is not a mere machine identity. In fixed and ascertained mathematical and mechanical science our minds are so constructed for wise reasons that we ultimately see exactly alike. But for equally wise reasons, in moral and theological science, there is room for play of variations amid our best agreement. Our varying individualities look even at the same acknowledged theological truth as with a different pair of spectacles. So the different writers in the New Testament give us the same truth with variations. Between Wesley and Clarke there were some differences. There are some variations between Wesley and Watson, and between Wesley and Pope; and between Pope and Watson. And if we mistake not, some different shades and phases exist

between British and American Methodism, not only in Church organization but in theological doctrine; and in both the American is the more Wesleyan. It is the modern exegete that loves to trace the comparative individualities of the four gospels; our latest Methodist scholars will, perhaps, begin to scrutinize the individualism of our own theological standards.

The most marked of Dr. Pope's peculiarities, in which, we would trust, he stands entirely alone, is his persistent statement that the whole Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church are the standard of our Methodist faith. He first made that statement in his translation of Winer, and we then recorded our "firm fraternal protest against" it. See our QUARTERLY for October, 1873, p. 680. As Winer was a work for theological scholars generally, Dr. Pope was able to set the echoes flying through English theology, proclaiming our allegiance to the Thirty-nine. But as Dr. Schaff esteemed our protest of sufficient importance to be inserted in his great work The Creeds of Christendom, (Vol. I, p. 893,) our declaration of independence had a somewhat similar general circulation. It seems amazing, in view of the fact that Wesley deliberately struck out fifteen of those Thirty-nine Articles, and struck out important words and sentences from the remainder, that one of our standard theologians should assure the world that the whole were somehow standard for us. And in this present work a peculiar force is given to this assurance by Dr. Pope's defining our doctrine of the effect of original sin by quoting the entire ninth article of the Thirty-nine, the most pointed part of which was struck out by Wesley; and this he does, prefacing it with the words "Methodism accepts the article of the English Church." That is, "Methodism accepts" the very doctrine which Wesley rejected! The Wesleyan doctrine of depravity is defined in terms that Wesley abolished! We give the article entire with the rejected part in italics, and two special clauses in capitals:

"Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, [Wesley here closes with and that continually.] so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's Wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are recenterated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek opónyha sapkóf, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin."

Both for the clumsiness of its form and the heresy of its doctrine we think that every American Methodist could be thankful to Wesley for our deliverance from this article, and no way thankful for its reinstatement by any authority. Wesley doubtless struck out this large portion mainly in view of the three capitalized passages. The former two plainly affirmed the false dogma of personal desert of damnation, even in the infant, our personal Guilt, for original sin. The latter seems to deny the doctrine of entire sanctification. It is the former with which we deal at present, and we remark:

1. Wesley rejects the doctrine of our personal desert of damnation here affirmed, for the very good reason that it contradicts our intuitive sense of right and justice. That rejection removes a contradiction to the moral sense and to common sense from theology. Great were Wesley's logical powers; greater his administrative powers; but greatest of all his intuitive powers. His primitive intuitive perceptions might for the time being be overborne by hereditary prejudices, or clamor of dogmas, or the temporary exigencies of argument; but when he hushed all these hinderances down, his intuitive faculties spoke with an almost infallible clearness. And undoubtedly the moment when he prepared these Twenty-four Articles was, if any moment of his life, the crisis when he looked at pure, absolute truth. Those articles were to be for all Methodism standard; and if ever, in sermon, essay, treatise, or commentary, he has expressed a different view, that different view is cancelled before this one monumental record. Wesley himself would then have to be overruled by his own Twenty-four Articles by us accepted "of faith."

And we make this last remark in some degree in reference to Dr. Pope's unqualified indorsement of Wesley's treatise on Original Sin. That is a valuable work, but written early in his life, in an earnest antagonism against the socinian Taylor, under strong, one-sided influence from the reading of Jennings and Watts, extracts from whose writings form a considerable part of his volume, and at a period long before his final formulation of faith for the Methodist body. There are some passages in it, especially the illustration of original sin from the English law of attainder—a law so fundamentally unjust that our own national Constitution has an article expressly forbidding it in America—which must be read under modification of our twenty-four articles.

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2. Wesley clearly saw that this clause lay at the foundation of the Genevan theology from which it came. If all are born under desert of damnation, then all mankind may be justly damned for original sin. They are in fact born damned. And that is infant damnation, a dogma unquestioned in old Geneva. And then, if all are in birth-damnation, justly and from desert, Geneva could triumphantly maintain that it was "glorious grace" for God to pick out a few, no better than the rest, and "for nothing in them moving him thereto," and give them to Christ for salvation. Grant the premise expressed in this clause, and the Genevan deduction is irresistible. And so granting, our mouths are stopped as against Calvinian reprobation. The whole scheme is at once legitimated.

How outsiders understand us is indicated by their statements. In a survey of the progress of religious denominations during our national century closing in 1876, Professor Diman, a Baptist, in an article in the North American Review, said that a great source of our success in America was our "protest" against the "theological doctrine of hereditary merit and demerit," a protest in accordance with the Republican spirit of our time.

Dr. Schaff, after a thorough study of our standards, thus states our doctrine in his *Creeds of Christendom*: "Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson, describe this natural corruption in consequence of Adam's fall in the darkest colors, almost surpassing the descriptions of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin; but they deny the personal responsibility of Adam's posterity for his fall, or the doctrine of *original guilt*," (Vol. I, p. 897.)

And precisely that we suppose to be the view presented by our best American theological writers, in precise accordance with Wesley's rejection, in our Articles, of the desert of damnation for original sin. The most eminent, thus far, of our American theological thinkers, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, (quoted in our note on Rom. v, 18,) says: "Guilt is not imputed until, by a voluntary rejection of the Gospel, man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his own choice. Hence, although, abstractly considered, this depravity is destructive to its possessors, yet through the grace of the Gospel all are born free from condemnation." That truly avoids the doctrine of desert of damnation for Adam's sin. By that view man's corrupt nature is guiltless until by a free act of sin he has appropriated that nature and made himself responsible for it. It is then not a "hereditary guilt," but a hereditary

nature personally made guilty. Similar views to those of Dr. Fisk have been expressed by Bledsoe, Raymond, Miley, Summers, and Bishop Merrill. Dr. Miley's view was given in his able article on Pope's theology in a late number of our Quarterly and in his valuable book on the Atonement placed in the "Course of Study" by our Bishops. Our own views are exhibited in our notes on Rom. v, 12-21, and Eph. ii, 3. Adam, by sin, fell into a lower moral plane, into the level of mere nature, and became thereby liable to death. His posterity generatively inherited that nature, but irresponsibly. Yet, as "potential sinners," and nearly certain, sooner or later, amid the constancies of temptation, to fall into responsible sin and incur eternal death, they could not wisely have been brought into existence but for the provision of grace. It was out of the nature of things that they could have been guilty, that is, under "desert of God's wrath and damnation" for being "born" of fallen Adam. They were sinwardly disposed; and so their intrinsic nature was diverse from the divine nature; intrinsically bad; but not responsibly bad until their own free appropriative choice made them responsibly bad, and subjected them to such "desert."

Wesley did indeed leave in the Second Article the clause "a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for the actual sins of men." And the phrase "original guilt" did mean, unquestionably, as it came from the pen of its Calvinistic authors, "hereditary guilt;" but not in Wesley's theology. Had he so construed its unchangeable meaning he would have erased it as he did the equivalent phrases in the Ninth Article. He doubtless retained it because a true meaning could be read into it. Such a meaning is furnished in the words of Fisk already quoted. By our first appropriating act of sin we are doubly guilty: guilty for that as for an act of sin, and guilty for our existing evil nature so made responsibly our own. And in that evil nature so made our own is the "original guilt" from which all our subsequent guiltinesses proceed. It is original guilt both as originated at the commencement of our individual responsibility, and as the originating fountain for all our future condemnations. So with our whole race that falls into sin. We need "a sacrifice," not only for our actual (or actional) sins, but for the antecedent guilt of the corruption from which they flow.

In apparently diametrical opposition to Dr. Fisk's statement is Dr. Pope's view in Vol. II, p. 84: "The true doctrine is opposed also to every account of sin which insists that it cannot be reck-

oned such by a righteous God save where the will actively consents; and that none can be held responsible for any state of soul or action of life which is not the result of the will at the time. There is an offending character behind the offending will." But if that previous "offending character" has not been superinduced by previous free act of will, if it be necessitatedly inherited from Adam, it bears (according to Wesley) no "desert of wrath and damnation." As we understand Dr. Pope, he does restore Wesley's rejected thesis, and, in declaring his allegiance to the Thirty-nine, is at variance with the Twenty-four, Articles.

Dr. Pope has a chapter on "HEREDITARY GUILT," and one on Hereditary Depravity. Now, Hereditary Depravity we know; but "Hereditary Guilt" we do not know. He defines guilt as "the personal consciousness of being responsible for the wrong." But surely the guilt and the "consciousness" of the guilt are two things. The guilt is hardly more than the having intentionally performed the wicked action. When a jury finds a man guilty of murder they simply mean that he has performed the intentional act defined as murder. Hence, guilt is a personal thing, and is neither inheritable nor transferable. Upon the guilt follows desert of penalty; and that is neither inheritable (as Wesley decides) nor transferable. Again, our author says: "Guilt has another meaning. It is the sure obligation to punishment." But the "obligation to punishment" (if such a phrase is allowable) is not so much the "guilt" as the "desert" that follows the guilt. There is the being guilty of the act, and that is one thing; and there is a desert of punishment consequent upon, and inseparable from, the guilt, and that is another And as guilt is uninheritable and untransferable, and desert is uninheritable and untransferable, so punishment is uninheritable and untransferable. So, also, there can be no so-called imputed guilt unless imputed to the actual transgressor. The very phrase "imputed guilt" upon an innocent person confesses his innocence and so falsifies itself and declares itself a calumny. The phrase "imputed righteousness" also implies that the righteousness imputed does not truly exist; and the phrase is merely a gracious one, implying forgiveness. The former would be an injustice, and cannot exist; the latter is a graciousness that, at least verbally, may exist.

Further topics in these volumes we may discuss in a notice or two in future Quarterlies. The Orthodox Theology of To-day. By Newman Smyth, Author of "The Religious Feeling," and "Old Faiths in a New Light." 10mo, pp. 189. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.

Mr. Newman Smyth is making a decided impression in this country, and is not unknown in England, as a spirited leader of what is called "the New Orthodoxy." If this "new orthodoxy" happens to coincide in important points with old heterodoxy, and would be heterodox if coming from the "Universalist Quarterly," why is it not heterodox in Mr. Smyth and his co-workers? The reason seems to be this. These gentlemen are themselves primordially, axiomatically, and hereditarily orthodox; orthodoxy is, in fee simple, their own property; and shall not a man do what he pleases with his own? When they fling out old orthodox dogmas and fling in a few blocks from Arminianism, Rationalism, and Universalism, so forming a new platform, very much unlike old Saybrook's, it is simply orthodoxy reconstructing itself from within itself. Mr. Smyth is owner in fee of orthodoxy; therefore nothing he can say is heterodox. It is "orthodoxy," only "new; not, indeed, very "new" in itself, but decidedly "new" as "orthodoxy." We are frank to say that to some of this "new orthodoxy" we are decidedly heretic. We say this not denying that every generation of thinkers is likely to claim the right to revise the conclusions of its predecessors.

Mr. Smyth in some respects reminds us of Maurice. There are the same struggle, against his hereditary creed, and vague grasping after something he can like better; the same absence of definite outline of his thoughts; the same clothing of his conceptions in gorgeous folds of cloudiness where doubtful meanings, half meanings, and no meanings are obscurely evolved. nearly as we can grasp his aurora borealis, it is about as follows: He is rather Arminian than Calvinist in his theodicy; his doctrine of Inspiration is Coleridgean; his atonement is Bushnellian; his eschatology is restorationism. We should say that his theology and that of Dr. Thomas were nearly the same. Only the amiable Dr. Thomas had a nervous way of putting his issues that looked like attack, and Mr. Smyth gives his innovations in the form of defensive and conservative improvements. We are disposed to ratify his Arminianism, to be liberal to his inspirationism, to demur to his atonement, but to donate his restorationism to our Universalist friends, where it belongs. He is master of a rich, luxuriant style.

P.S.—The above was written before the announcement of Mr. Smyth's candidacy for a chair at Andover.

The Hereafter of Sin: What it Will be; with Answers to certain Questions and Objections. By Rev. John W. Haley, A.M., author of "Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible." 16mo, pp. 152. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1881.

Unlike Newman Smyth, though of the same communion, Mr. Haley firmly maintains the stern old Protestant eschatology, not indeed indorsing the Edwardean hell of literal fire, or clearly affirming corporeal infliction, but maintaining the endless duration and increasing intensity of the suffering of the soul. That suffering consists in the depths of shame, the horrors of remorse, hopelessness, rage of unholy passions, diabolical society, curse of divine displeasure, and permanence of sin perpetuated by the fixing power of habit.

Mr. Haley conclusively shows that the adjective, aionios, being used as the strongest term to qualify the duration of heaven and of God himself, must possess the same meaning when applied, as in Matt. xxv, 46, to final penalty. Less conclusive is he upon the word kolasis, punishment, in that verse. In spite of quoted authorities, the admitted sense of that word, as derived from a verb signifying to prune, may plausibly be interpreted of a corrective punishment. We have, or they used to have in our boyhood, a use of the verb to trim in a similar sense, as when a severe threatener would say, to an urchin, "I will give you a trimming." The metaphor meant that he would with smart strokes lop off the urchin's wild exuberances of behavior. But even then the Scripture word could be used to give plausibility only to the idea that the pruning would merely produce a perpetual naturalistic improvement, but not salvation or attainment of the visions of God in which heaven consists. And this would bring us to the view of St. Thomas Aquinas, the great doctor approved by the present Pope as oracle of Catholic Theology. St. Thomas taught that all outside "the vision of God" will be hell; and yet for virtuous and cultured sinners like John Stuart Mill and Ralph Waldo Emerson there will be abodes of naturalistic felicity in that vast outside.

There is one argument drawn from the belief of the synagogue in endless fire which it seems that Mr. Haley would be obliged to retrench, and even, perhaps, reverse. He assumes that the Jews of our Saviour's time were believers in an eternal infliction upon all the finally impenitent, and insists that if such was not the meaning of his own language Jesus was bound to correct them. If, however, Professor Harman, in our present "Quarterly" rightly represents Becker, and Becker rightly represents the synagogue, it taught, in the main, annihilation of

the great mass of the finally wicked. And we doubt whether his argument to disprove that annihilation can be properly called eternal punishment is quite valid. Inasmuch as it deprives its subject of an endless existence it is privative punishment; and as the eternal exclusion of all re-existence it is eternal punishment. The subject of the punishment is indeed transient; but

the punishment itself is strictly endless.

An ingenious modification of the doctrine of annihilationism, as maintained by the late Dr. True and others, evaded much of the orthodox objections, and hardly varied from the mildly orthodox view. This modification suggested that in the ultimate result consciousness will become worn out, while the soul itself remains forever in existence. And as the death of the body consists not in annihilation but in the absolute cessation of its functions; so the death of the soul, final spiritual death, eternal death, consists in the absolute and eternal cessation of the functions of the soul. The dead soul itself remains, then, as Mr. Haley would have the living damned soul, an eternal monument of the evil of sin, and a warning to all living natures against its commission. It seems not validly replied that the extinction of thought and consciousness is the extinction of soul Thought is an act; soul is a substance, an entity, a being. To identify the soul with thought itself is the materialism of Hume; as it is maintaining that there exist only two factors, matter and thought. It must be firmly maintained that soul as well as body is an agent; and that as motion is the action of the body, so thought is the action of the soul. Sir William Hamilton fancied that he had proved that even in sleep the soul always thinks; he certainly could have proved that even in sleep the body always moves. But neither of his proofs shows that a body may not become movelessly dead, or that a soul may not become, by unconsciousness, dead, and yet both body and soul be still existent. Even if it could be proved, as it cannot, and as is improbable, that the soul always thinks in sleep, it cannot be made plausible by any possible experiment that it thinks in a swoon or under a strong dose of chloroform.

The great difficulty of Dr. True's modification is that the Christian consciousness of the Church has never at any time held it; that though neither the Roman nor Anglican Church has ever made eternal conscious punishment an article of faith, yet it has ever been spontaneously the predominant belief in both. One may well pause in reverence before such an authority.

The Never Criticism and the Analogy of Faith. A Reply to Lectures by W. ROBERT WATE, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the General Assembly's College, Belfast. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, [Scribner's imported edition.] Price, \$2 50.

There are three replies to Professor Smith's "Criticism" accessible to readers in this country. The first is by Professor Green, of Princeton, in the last "Presbyterian Quarterly Review;" then this production by Professor Watts; and third, the book by Dr. Stebbins next to be noticed. The article by Dr. Green will be read with high respect for the learning and ability of the writer, and it will be found to be very concise and conclusive against the "new" invention. Professor Green has perhaps but one sarcasm in his critique, and that is when he says that it is impossible to bring Smith's theory to a reductio ad absurdum, for it is an absurdum at start.

Professor Watts' book is a broadside on the field of battle. Hence, while never discourteous, it is direct and personal. In its argument it goes to the marrow of the matter, and is a complete and successful overthrow of the fragile fabric borrowed by its present proprietor from a rationalistic constructor. The charges of superficiality and discourtesy brought against Dr. Watts are entirely unsustainable. His volume is a brave, courteous, spirited, and effective defense of the Old Testament against the latest form of skeptical assault.

This "study" is peculiarly effective as an argument, not only for the learning, ability, and critical keenness, but from the author's peculiar position. He cannot be charged with any prepossession arising from official station or from creed. He examines the subject purely as a literary question respecting the authenticity of certain ancient documents. Their truth he is not bound to affirm; in fact, he is ready in certain parts to deny. He is not criticising Professor Smith, but Professor Smith's master, Kuenen. Smith's performance is simply "Dutch Theories" transformed into Scotch theories. The present "study" was written before Smith's book appeared, and its appearance is referred to in a few quiet notes treating it as an unimportant production.

A Study of the Pentateuch. For Popular Reading. Being an Inquiry into the Age of the Hours of Moses, with an Introductory Examination of Recent Dutch Theories, as represented by Dr. Kuenen's "Religion of Israel." By Ruyus P. Sterbrins, D.D., formerly President, Lecturer on Hebrew Literature, and Professor of Theology in the Meadville Theological School. 12mo, pp. 233. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1881. Price, \$1 25.

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Dr. Stebbins' work is divided into two parts: an Introduction, in which he applies keen criticism to Kuenen's assumptions and reasonings against the Pentateuch, and a Study, in which he masses the positive argument for the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

Kuenen's work assumes two bases: first, that the supernaturalism in all narrative is false; and second, that all religions are evolved from primitive fetichism. Consequently all history is to be judged and explained by these axioms, and all that transgresses them is false. Applied to Hebrew history he assumes that the pre-Abrahamic is fetichism; the Abrahamic is polytheism, until the Captivity; then monotheism. Evolution this in biblicism. Facts are governed by apriorisms. His methods are,

therefore, easily shown to be arbitrary and absurd.

Dr. Stebbins, then, in the Second Part, traces Hebrew literature upward from the New Testament times to Moses, showing therein a dense volume of references to the Pentateuch, of the most unequivocal character, demonstrating its production in the Mosaic era with a force unknown in regard to any other document of anywhere near an equal antiquity. In periods from Christ to Malachi, from Malachi to the Captivity, from the Captivity to David, including the prophets and poets of Israel, he finds a large body of quotations and allusions identifying the Law, the Law of Moses, the Covenant, etc., which cannot possibly be referred to any other than the Mosaic writings. Some interpolations there doubtless are; some editorial annotations, some overstatements of facts. And Dr. Stebbins makes concessions to the non-miraculous which no believer in the incarnation and life of Jesus needs make. He denies most emphatically that there is "a particle of reliable evidence that a single law recorded in the Pentateuch" was added after Moses' time. And this more than counterbalances, we humbly think, the very unwise dictum of Professor G. P. Fisher, quoted in our notice of the "North American Review."

It is claimed to be a brave exploit in Prof. Robertson Smith to have made biblical science popular to the general audience. We think that Dr. Stebbins' book is altogether the more piquant, conclusive, and readable of the two, and we heartily recommend it to the perusal of our young ministry and every layman doubtful of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. His capitalized conclusion is immovable, namely: "The Pentateuch is substantially of the Mosaic age, and largely, either directly or indirectly, of Mosaic authorship."

Aspects of Christian Experience. By S. M. MERRILL, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 297. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

In this volume there is happy blending of religious theory and practice. Dr. Merrill teaches his readers the application of theology to real life. He takes the great topics of the Bible, of the schoolman, of the preacher, and shows their bearings on the inner and outer life. Among his topics are depravity, repentance, faith, faith imputed, justification, regeneration, the witness of the Spirit, and sanctification. All these book terms are translated into common intuitive sense, and made to appear, as they are, realities in the concrete.

The style is clear and strong; the spirit candid and independent ; the doctrines are clearly and strongly Wesleyan. They are not Wesleyan according to the whole Thirty-nine Articles, but according to the Twenty-five. Thus, on the doctrine of depravity, he holds no "hereditary guilt," no born desert of damnation. Of Adam's sin he says: "We are not personally responsible for that sin." "On the other hand, an extreme theory, which, with some tinges of truth, combines radical error. It is affirmed that Adam was the federal head and representative of the race in such a way as to involve all of human nature in the guilt of sin; that, in him, the whole human family passed a probation and fell; that the penalty was executed in full measure upon him and his offspring; that the condition of the race in this world is strictly penal; and that all are born, not only corrupt, but under condemnation, and personally liable to eternal death on account of Adam's sin."-P. 16. "We do not deem it proper to say that we are born sinners. . . . We are not sinners by nature, but sinful. By this we mean that our nature is perverted by sin, and tends to sin." By the word sinful, then, he means tends to sin. Now, we want a more unambiguous word than sinful for that meaning, and the word sinward nearly supplies the want. Depravity is tendency to sin, sinwardness. But an inherited sinwardness is not responsible or guilty until by free voluntary act we make it responsibly our own. And excellent, on pp. 56-75, are his remarks on imputed sin and guilt. "All God's imputations are according to truth. He never imputes actions, good or bad, to any except to the persons who performed them." On this subject Wesley made adventurous verbal concessions "for peace," and Watson "went to the verge of contradiction." All that we indorse, and rejoice that Bishop Merrill affirms it just at this time.

Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. V. The Book of Psalms. By Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D., author of "Psalms Chronologically Arranged." D. D. Whedden, LL.D., Editor. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882. Price, \$2 50.

Lo! a ψαλτήριον, a psalter, a psalm-book. No modern mimicry of the ancient psalmist done into verse, but an authorized version of the original psalmist, accompanied with notes and illustrated with cuts and map. By a slight change in the order of Old Testament books, productive of no inconvenience, and entirely unnoticed unless specified, we have so arranged as to bring the Book of Psalms into a single portable volume. It is, therefore, a single study, a ready manual for biblical instruction and devotional reading. We trust it will become the means of an additional interest in these blessed records of ancient piety.

Years ago Dr. Hibbard published a volume, connecting these sacred lyrics, as far as possible, with the history of the times of their production. This indicated his fitness to prepare the Psalms in course of our Book-Room series. His researches, brought down to the present time, enrich the present volume. It is preceded by an Introduction, in which are discussed the Title of the whole collection and the Specific Titles of particular psalms; the Divisions of the collection; the Authors; the principal Psalmodic Periods; and The Ethical Teaching.

There are fuller dissertations on more important topics: the Future Life, as revealed in the volume; Messianic Prophecy, in which good use is made of Bishop Alexander's work; and the Imprecatory Psalms. The notes will be found clear, concisely complete, and with the numerous object-pictures very illustrative of the text. We cannot but believe that this will be a favorite volume with all our Bible readers and students.

The volume on the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, by Professors Bannister and Hemenway, of Evanston, is now in the hands of the printer, and will be the next in order of publication.

The Epistle of Paul, the Apostle to the Romans, in the Authorized Version. With a New Translation and Commentary. By T. O. Summers, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 275. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1881.

This is one of a series of commentaries on the New Testament written by Dr. Summers, and issued by the Southern Book Rooms. It is by no means a mere compilation, but a product of individual and original thought, yet drawing legitimately help from the works of preceding commentators. The translation is

prefixed to the work, and followed by the Authorized Version with notes thereon, and not on the new translation. The new translation will be to many readers almost a commentary. The author therein avails himself of the most modern scholarship, and prefers a clear expression of the apostle's thought to elegant English idiom. On the controversial battle-fields in the Epistle the annotator is clearly and stanchly Wesleyan-Arminian. This, like Beet's Romans, noticed in a former Quarterly, makes a clear addition to our too limited Arminian commentaries on Romans, and may well be consulted as a standard by both scholars and popular readers.

Dr. Summers seems to be no maintainer of "hereditary guilt." On page 62 he quotes Bloomfield as saying of infants: "They are treated as sinners, are considered guilty in the sight of God." And he replies: "It is nowhere said that infants are guilty in the sight of God; they belong to a guilty race, but they are not punished for Adam's sin." Dr. Summers, therefore, does not restore the clause, rejected by Wesley from our articles, maintaining that original sin "on every person born into the world deserveth God's wrath and damnation."

Who is this Dott. Whedon? Same, we believe, as "Whedon sahib" in the translation of his gospels by Dr. Scott into Hindoostanee, as this is a translation by Dr. Caporali of his Romans into Italian. Though a "free translation," with a few notes of his own, Dr. Caporali has faithfully transferred our trenchant anti-Augustinianism to the Italian. The discussion of ages exists in Rome also. And he fully appreciates the evangelical liberalism of the Arminian interpretation as coming worthily from a son of the "grande Republica" of modern times, with whom a broad comprehensivism in Church and State, embracing our wide humanity, is spontaneous and natural. And the language suggests how truly it may be the fitting and congenial mission of the young republic to offer this free gospel to the modern Roman who hopes to reach a better republicanism in his country than pagan Rome ever attained.

Dott. Whedon. Il pensiero di San Paolo commento all'epistola ai Romani. Libera versione dall'inglese del Dott. Enrico Caporali. 12mo, pp. 192. Roma dalla tipografia Romana Piazza S. Silvestro, 71. 1882.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation. By Rev. James M'Cosh, President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, and George Dickie, A.M., M.D., Professor in Queen's University, Ireland. 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Carter and Brothers. 1881.

As our Quarterly is limited by no law to the notice of "recent publications," we are induced by the present phase of public thinking to present a brief review of a work issued some years ago by Dr. M'Cosh. It is a noble product of thought, and as written when a younger man than he is now, it exhibits a more attractive finish of style than he has been careful to preserve in later years. It is intended to be a contribution to what is called, scarce properly, "natural theology," that is, theism as evidenced by the tokens of design in the creation. The work is a large review of creation as a whole, and the tokens of design are recognized in two great phases; in the ORDER with which the great whole is constructed, where every department and individuality has its fitting place, and in the Adaptation of classes and individuals to their special work as related to surrounding nature. Dr. M'Cosh then goes through an elaborate survey of the successive apartments of the great structure of creation, and in parallel chapters upon each apartment, portrays the structural character of each, and analyzes the wonderful special adaptations to be found in each. Creation is great in its greatness, and great in its littleness. It is wonderful as a whole, and full of surprises in all its parts. But it is one great structure on one great Plan, and is an expression of one great complex Design, in which, even where certain specialties seem to have no immediate use, their real use may be found in their exhibiting a conformation to the whole unitary Plan.

It is, of course, in the system of living nature that the Order and Adaptation are most conspicuously exhibited. The vertebrate animals are all constructed upon one basal type, and of that type an engraved outline is given. This engraved figure of the basal type of the vertebrate forms, on which all the realm of higher life is constructed, looks like the unclothed frame of a ship in process of building. That type being assumed as central, all the divergences serve to show the combination of unity and adaptive variation. Uniformity keeps the variety in order, adaptation gives variety to the uniformity, and thus a system of nature is built up. Though Darwin had not

published, when this book was written, his "Origin of Species," vet St. Hilaire had suggested that even the orders below the vertebrates, the Mollusks, contained the prophetic elements of the four orders, and thus a doctrine of development completes the idea of unity and order. This Dr. M'Cosh here declines, perhaps not wisely, to admit. We may safely suspect that the vertebrate provision, ideally at least, lay in the primordial specimens of animal life, and that the idea is first visibly betokened in the Lancelet, though Brunton maintains that the Lancelet is, in fact, but a sort of elongation of his predecessor, the Ascidian. We may, therefore, perhaps concede that the Ascidian and the Lancelet are probably in the line of ideal ascent from the first vital specimen to Man. Indeed, Dr. M'Cosh recognizes that the "abdominal nervous cord in Insects, etc., is homologous with the spinal cord of Vertebrata, the essential difference being greater condensation of parts in the latter than in the former." also, "We find in the nervous system of the Vertebrata certain parts which are homologous with the whole of that of Invertebrata." This connective view seems, indeed, necessary in order to complete the doctrine of Order, and especially to complete the conception, expressed by both Agassiz and Owen, that Man is the attainment toward which all animal nature has aimed, though this conception is restricted by them to the vertebrates.* This restriction may be physically and visibly nearly right, but perhaps not ideally. The recognition of Man as the final summation of the living system is a key-thought worthy a conspicuous prominence in this discussion. It presents a striking community between science and theology. By it we see how the life-system is a one conception, a pre-destinated Unit, in the divine Mind, and that indeed whether the successive genera in living nature are uniformly produced by a generative process, or by a series of epochal formative Originations. Such serial formations could not be "special creations," nor "fiat creations," but æonic originations according to Plan, and subordinate to Law. Law is, indeed, laid upon objective nature, but it lies originally in the divine

^{*}Says Agassiz: "Man is the end toward which all the animal creation has tended from the first appearance of the first Palæozoic fishes." The language of Owen is equally explicit: "The recognition of an ideal exemplar in the vertebrated animals proves that the knowledge of such a being as man must have existed before man appeared; for the divine Mind which planned the archetype also foreknew all its modifications. The archetype idea was manifested in the flesh long prior to the existence of those animal species that actually exemplify it." Similarly Dr. Winchell, as quoted in a succeeding notice.

Mind, and is imposed upon nature by the divine Will acting in eternal consistency with itself. So says the celebrated Hooker: "Of Law nothing less can be said than that her residence is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the Universe." If formative originations do take place, independently of the generative process, as the records of Geology seem to demonstrate, then those originations are as truly accordant with Law as any

generative process whatever.

This Plan in nature suggests its parallel in human art. "In civil architecture there are four principles, it is said, to be attended to: 1. Convenience; 2. Symmetry; 3. Eurythma, or such a balance and disposition of parts as evidence design; and 4. Ornament. It is pleasant to notice that not one of these is wanting in the architecture of nature. The presence of any one of them might be sufficient to prove design; the presence and concurrence of them all furnishes the most overwhelming evidence."

But as the system of life-architecture is in process of building through long ranges of time, the earlier parts must be constructed in express view of the future parts, and must truly predict their future appearance; and this gives us what naturalists have called "prophetic types." And correspondently some traces of elements of earlier animal forms are found in later, in fact remnants of old species in the new, which have survived their original use and are apparently otiose in the present except as reminders of conformity to Plan. Dr. M'Cosh, indeed, queries whether we are not too hasty in pronouncing any part of any animal form useless. The hump of the camel was once thought useless, but further observation has shown that it is a heap of reserve aliment to be expended in sustaining the exhaustions of long starvation. Yet, doubtless, animal parts that have survived their uses are found; and Haeckel has grounded his atheistic argument on these facts of "Purposelessness." But the eminent botanist, De Candolle, has fully solved this problem on the principle of structural Plan. He says: "In innumerable instances there appear forms similar to those which are connected with a definite function, but which do not fulfill that function; and nature, in these instances, as in the animal kingdom, seems to produce forms which are completely useless, merely for the sake of a harmonious and symmetrical structure." Yet these useless survivals may sometimes be viewed, if one chooses, as, like monstrosities, being natural defects, incident to a Plan in which the

infinite Cause works under conditions of finite causations, subject to finite contingencies. However wonderful many of the peremptory exactitudes of the system, especially in astronomical adjustments, minor inexactitudes, infinite in number, are found in the kingdoms of life; in fact, defects and incompletenesses are left in nature for man to repair and perfect by art, rendering creation a school for the development of the highest earthly intellect.

Dr. M'Cosh devotes his closing section to bringing out the happy thought of his book, the analogy between the Typology of Creation and of Revelation. Thereby the kingdom of nature is shown to be the type of the kingdom of grace. In both, long lines of correspondence run from the origin of the world to its consummation. This is manifoldly presented by our author. But perhaps he omits to fasten his hand firmly upon the real clew by which the unity of each Plan, and the analogy between the two, are most clearly exhibited. That clew lies in the antitypic Man as the consummation in which all the types converge, as authenticated by Agassiz, Owen, and Winchell. All the types of creation are conterminous in Man; all the types of revelation are conterminous in the Son of Man. But in the Son of Man, as antitype, are included his work and his Church, of which he is the embodiment.

The entire volume is well worth the study of every student of nature and every student in theology.

The Doctrine of Evolution: Its Data, its Principles, its Speculations, and its Theistic Bearings. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL LL.D. Small 12mo, pp. 148. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer. By ALEXANDER WINCHELD, LL.D., author of "Pre-Adamites," etc., etc., and Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the University of Michigan. 12mo, pp. 400. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1881. Price, \$2 00.

When Dr. Stillingfleet, the celebrated English theologian, was promoted to the bishopric, he was reported to have renounced his early volume "The Irenicum," in which he maintained the validity of presbyterial ordination; and thereupon the presbyterial party responded, "It is easier for Dr. Stillingfleet to renounce than refute his own argument." And so Dr. Winchell, who published the first of the above books when he was nearly a decade younger than he is now, as he has advanced in wisdom if not in stature, has renounced the conclusions of its argument. He has thereby, as even the "Tribune" in its notice of the second and last work confesses, "won a place among scientists." But upon

carefully, and, we trust, candidly, comparing the two books, we have come to the conclusion, at least for the present, that among all his brilliant successes he has not succeeded in refuting himself.

In this first volume Dr. Winchell compares, with judicial impartiality, the two proposed evolutions, the evolution by generation and the "evolution of ideas," and decides for the latter. Without, probably, having read Dr. M'Cosh, he frames in his own style a brief but clear statement of the doctrine of types aggregated into a divine intellective Plan; and finds in that Plan the concordant solution of all the phenomena. This Plan, culminating (as Owen and Agassiz more pointedly express it) in man, is repeatedly expressed, and quite fully, as follows:

When the vertebrate structure first appeared in the skeleton of the fish, in that remote period when life had not yet been able to take possession of land and atmosphere, that skeleton, simple and unpromising as it was, embodied all the conceptions which have since been evoked into reality in the vertebrate sub-kingdom. Reptile, bird, mammal, and man existed potentially in the primitive fish. Modifications of certain bony elements have wrought out each type in an admirable succession, and in the order of progressive derivation from the ichthyic type. The pectoral fin of the fish became the fore leg of the saurian, the wing of the pterodactyl and then of the bird, the fore leg of the fleet deer, the climbing squirrel, the digging mole, the paddling whale, the prehenso-locomotive arm of the monkey, and then the instrument to execute the behests of the intellect of man. Similar relationships of plan are seen running through the whole history of articulates, mollusks, and radiates.—Pp. 33, 34.

By this ideal Plan are explained the prophetic type by which, in a lower species, some element is found dimly present which, subsequently, reappears in its fullness in a higher species. selecting our own instance, the humble lancelet presents a glimpse of a vertebra which not until zons after is fully realized in the world-wide creation of fishes. The lancelet predicts the shark. And so, too, there are retrospective types, by which, in conformity to Plan, a glimpse of previous species reappears in a subsequent and higher, of no use to the higher species, and serving only as a mark of plan conformity. And in this Plan appear also synthetic types; generic forms where the constituent forms are so combined together as to be solved and separated into several future diverging species. By these three assumed typologies, the predictive, the retrospective, and the synthetic types, the mystery of the creative Plan is unfolded, and geneticism is shown to be not only incumbered with difficulties, but unnecessary for a solution of the mundane problem. And yet, in his second volume, mirabile dictu, he quotes the anticipative, retrospective, and synthetic facts as proofs of generative development without noticing his previous typic solutions, and so failing, we humbly think, to

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refute himself. His new logic may be good, but we think his "old" (or rather young) "is better."

Of the second and last publication above, those who decline the "Geologist's" conclusions will readily admit the varied attractions of style and thought. His monographs are classified under the heads, æsthetic, chronological, climatic, historical, and philosophical; and he appears a master in all. In his ascent of Mount Blanc we have magnificent descriptions of scenery, and thrilling narratives of hair-breadth escapes, and appalling disasters from which no escape was possible. Then come surveys of the gigantic chronologies of geology, in one of which he rescues his beloved Lemuria from the ruthless grasp of James C. Southall. In the "genealogy of ships" he traces the evolution of ideas exhibited in the advancing vehicles of navigation, displaying a humorous yet logical mastery of the argument in favor of non-genetic Plan, derived from ideal evolutions of human inventions. As there is a mind-created series of water-carriages, namely, canoe, skiff, sail-ship and steamer, so there may be a mind-created, non-genetic series of animal species. Most of the analogies he considers good and valid; but there is one, namely, the existence of useless remnants inherited by higher species from the lower, which he pronounces a failure. No "row-lock" of a skiff ever appears surviving in a steamer. No predictive steam-pipe ever glimmers in the skiff. But this failure is, we think, solved by the fact that it is not one mind which forms the one whole evolution of ships, synoptically, as it is one Mind that evolves the creative Plan. When men have built their skiff they suppose that they have attained a finality, and dream of no steam-pipes. When God has made a fish he has an eye to man. Nor need the steamer to contain any trace of the skiff as memorial of Plan. And these intentional tokens of Plan in the sum of creation are no more surprising than thousands of intellective adaptations appearing in the details. The Plan explains the detailed facts; the adaptive facts prove the intellective Plan. Passing this "genealogy of ships," we have a chapter showing that Mr. Huxley's American lectures failed to "demonstrate" geneticism, and then our author proceeds to work out the "demonstration" himself. But that "demonstration," we venture to think, is negatively forestalled in a great degree by the unrefuted solutions of his earlier book.

What Dr. Winchell styles "fiat creation," others "special creation," but which we call originative creation according to Plan and under law, is compulsorily admitted by all theistic geneticists.

Even Darwin admits that "fiat creation," divine origination, takes place at the very start of the system. Nay, if we consider the system as one great unit, a single stupendous animal, it underlies the whole. The whole system is one organism, produced by "special creation." Stick a pin there. Our geneticist finds this origination to be authentic. And once admitting its legitimacy, he logically legitimates it as admissible at any new commencement, if such new commencement anywhere phenomenally appears. He cannot argue that we know generation by experience, but we know no creation. And now that such new commencements do appear, that there are blank spots and new inaugurations in the great series of mundane life, seems a fixed certainty, for we have the sure and final word of science for it.

And in these new inaugurations we may note three things: 1. The blank interval preceding the new commencement is large and clear, not to be explained by the plea of "imperfect record," or the expectation of any new discovery. 2. The newly inaugurated forms and system appear suddenly, without admissible conformed predecessors, and breaking upon us like an immediate and very "special creation." 3. The new forms are stupendous in number, indeed, rightly often called world-wide. A new animal world, as well as a higher stage in the scale of progressive being. spreads itself before our eyes. So clear is this, that Prof. Leconte, a professed evolutionist, declares that this can be explained only by what he is pleased to style "paroxysmal evolution." "Paroxysmal" indeed! A universal fit of contortion seizes the animals half the world over, and they suddenly change by millions of millions into a new species! Or, as Dr. Winchell prefers evolution by retarded or accelerated gestation, a sudden fit of colic seizes a world-wide species and they fling up by spasmodic parturition a higher order of animal creation! Was ever science so romantic? All this to avoid the action of that very creative Origination which is admitted to have first inaugurated the whole! Where and what became of the parents of this marvelous new birth? Were they all killed, reversing the myth of Saturn, by their own ungrateful progeny? Did they all give up their whole being to the new parturition, and so beget themselves in a new and higher form, being their own parents and own children, leaving a blank space behind them? How much more natural than all this is the assumption that the comprehensive Power which founded the whole Plan, and inaugurated by immediate formative energy the commencement of life, here in due order of law, repeats its

first act; and that in due series with future similar acts, so that the whole series is a one regular serial process, with nothing truly "special," or "fiat," or violative of law, about it. That formative energy Dr. Winchell theistically believes shapes by serial process the form of every generated being. That belief he holds to be both theistic and scientific, and we see not how the serial process of originative evolution is any less so. And under this rational view we behold Moses and science beautifully harmonized.

Of the several intervals in the life series so wonderfully revealed by paleontology we will present but three. The first is the blank in the strata of the Silurian, as described and demonstrated with overwhelming power by the great Bohemian paleontologist, Barrande, which Dr. Winchell amply quotes in his first book with conclusive effect, and does not attempt to obviate in his last. Examining the brachiopods, cephalopods, and trilobites of fourteen Silurian formations he found no species continued with modifications; and of species without ancestry, but visibly originated as new, he found sixty-five. With so vast a blank Barrande feels justified in pronouncing geneticisms to be "poetic flourishes of the imagination," and recognizing species as the product of "the sovereign action of one and the same creative cause. (See our Quarterly, vol. xxxiii, p. 161.) The second is the blank that precedes the introduction of a new species, the fishes, constituting, it is most important to observe, a new order, the Vertebrates. The newness, the inauguration of the back-bone plan, the suddenness, a springing up all at once, and the world-wide extension, all laugh to scorn the dismal subterfuges of "paroxysm" and uterine miscarriage. Our third, is the appearance of Man, the being in whom all the types converge, the microcosm in whom the macrocosm is impersonated; a microcosm which is truly the macrocosm, being greateo than all creation besides himself. He is at once animal and spiritual; as animal, crowning the visible forms of animal ranks with his own finite perfection; and as spiritual, basing the invisible orders of supernal life. And now the most ancient specimen of man exhumed by science is man in his full corporeal perfection, at a measureless distance from the highest animal below him. And even science affirms that he is not derived from that corporeally highest form below him, the ape; but from some still earlier stock, of which ape and man are diverging branches! What ranks and rows of intermediate anthropoids ought to be presented before our eyes between man and that far earlier stock to justify geneticism. Not one! Years pass on; the spade of the noble scientists is every-where at work; car-loads of fossils are wheeled into cabinets; not a specimen of intermediacy appears; and the negative argument has already grown solid by time. Thanks to our scientific brethren for, at any rate, their true zeal for truth; thanks, especially, for the truth their labors demonstrate, that man is not a genetic derivation from brute, and that Mosaic evolution is compulsorily confirmed by science. Thanks for the firm platform of both theistic and biblical truth on which their labors entitle us to stand. Would that they all realized the richness of their own benefactions.

But it is the "embryological evidence" that Dr. Winchell finally emphasizes as completing "the conviction that the derivative origin of species is a fact." We cheerfully agree to this; but the question is whether the "derivative origin" is the Mosaic, as typical and immediately originative from the plastic power, or whether it is Darwinian, genetic, and mediated between forms by an interposed bi-sexual process. In either case this succession of embryonic forms is shaped very wonderfully as a small model of the great Plan. It is optically plain, we think, that in the production of each succeeding embryonic form from its antecedent form there is no bi-sexual process between the two forms, and therefore it is the Mosaic non-genetic Plan that is pictured, and not the genetic-the very point in question. Dr. Winchell expends a paragraph in overcoming this distinction, which, not being sure we understand, we lay before our readers with numerically marked annotations corresponding with the numerals in the quoted extract.

It would appear, at first view, that the nature of the derivation must be fundamentally different in the two cases, [the ideal and the genetic;] but even this does not impair the meaning of the fact that, in both cases, we should have a material continuity from form to form; and this is all which evolution requires.\text{\text{0}} On reflection, however, the mode of the continuity in the case of the embryo appears substantially identical with the assumed mode of continuity in the succession of geological types. Ordinary embryonic development proceeds through the multiplication and specialization of cells stimulated by the nutritive plasma in which they are bathed.\text{\text{2}} Generative or genealogical development begins in the multiplication and specialization of a cell stimulated by contact with a cell specialized spermatically in the same individual or in an individual sexually different.\text{\text{\text{0}}} Propagation, moreover, may be viewed as simply a mode of perpetualing or renewing an individual which is bisexual, either moneciously, as in lower animals and most plants, or diceiously, as in most animals and certain plants.\text{\text{4}} The progress noted in the succession of extinct forms is assumed to have resulted from some influence exerted upon embryos in the progress of their development. The development accelerated or prolonged would end in an organism more advanced.\text{\text{\text{0}} This would be a new specific form appearing as a stage of embryonic history; and though many generations may have intervened while the embryo was arriving at this new specific type, we may view these generations as simply nature's expedient to

continue the being in existence in spite of the wastes of physical life. So what seems at first a mere analogy resolves itself into a profound biological identity.

—Pp. 346, 347.

1. This is all that is required for a model of non-genetic "derivation," but not for a genetic. The very differentia, the bi-sexual process between forms, is non-existent, and leaves us non-genetic transformations only. 2. But what "nutritive plasma" bathes the embryonic antecedent in the formation of the consequent shape? The second form is simply an unfolding growth on proper nutritions no longer spermatic or sexual. 3. But what spermatie stimulation is there interpolated between any two successive embryonic forms? Does not the succeeding embryonic form arise simply under control of the plastic power? Certainly it is not a bi-sexual or spermatic process that appears between forms in the embryonic model, and therefore it is not such a process that can appear in the paleontological succession of new originations. 4. Propagation seems to be merely nature's method of continuing an originated form, not of originating a new series. how does this advancement through accelerated embryonic process meet the case of the appearance of the vertebrate fishes with absolute world-wide suddenness? Was there a million of unknown semi-piscatory parents scattered in all the seas of earth undergoing simultaneously accelerated gestations? And what has become of those myriads of parental fractional fishes, and all the intermediate forms down, if you please, to the lancelet or the ascidian? 6. But does Dr. Winchell deny that between the process of sexual generation and mere nutrimental growth there is an intrinsic, we might almost say an infinite, difference? To say nothing of the different forms of the process, the different movements of the molecules, in the two cases, there must certainly be in the human sexual spermata a psychical element, the principium of a human soul, found nowhere else in nature. No combination of matter, no chemical compound, no nutrimental element, contains it, or is able to go through its processes or achieve its final human product. Otherwise spontaneous generation might be accomplished. There is the inauguration of a new personality. And it is that primal psychical element in the sperma which at start decides the rank of the final product in the scale of being. The primal vesicle, similar as it seems to all other primal vesicles, contains the secret differentiating cause that determines whether the embryo shall stop at fish, or dog, or emerge into immortal man. For the parent determines the child. To identify generation with growth is so a fatal fallacy. On the

whole, Dr. Winchell does not make clear to our unscientific ignorance how a non-genetic series of forms can picture a specifically genetic series of species. We see in that series a picture of our present view of the Mosaic evolution, but not of the Darwinian or the Copeian.

But, if Dr. Winchell is sometimes tinged with a naturalism when we would have preferred distinctive theism, the closing chapter, being a modification of his article in the "North American," noticed by us in a former "Quarterly," presents a theistic argument of no ordinary power. Dr. M'Cosh, in his volume above noticed, indorses Chalmers' concession that Deity is proved not by the origination of matter but by its collocations; but Dr. Winchell shows that Deity is proved by both. And herein the layman is a clearer theist than the theologians. And this essay, as well as the able theistic articles which Dr. Winchell has published in our "Quarterly," entitle us to expect that his forthcoming volume on Theism will be a work of eminent value.

Atlantis: The Antediluvian World. By Ignatius Donnelly. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 480. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The most striking revelation made by the explorations of the sea by the *Dolphin*, *Challenger*, and other national ships, is the great ocean ridges, extending irregularly from near France south-westward to South America, thence south-easterly by Ascension and St. Helena islands. West of the Straits of Gibraltar the ridge spreads into a broad extent which shoots up its peaks above the surface, there appearing as the Azores. These islands are the tips of a stupendous mountain based on the ocean bottom; a mountain large enough to be a young continent. That it once may have spread its high plateau above the surface is quite possible, and from volcanic appearances probable. And these facts furnish a clearer solution of the wonderful resemblances found to exist in natural products, as well as in archæology, between Southern America and the Mediterranean countries and nations.

And these discoveries have revived attention to the myths and legends in the records of antiquity in regard to lands beyond the western waves. They have no place in sober history, but appear as verbal tradition and mythic lore. Yet the explorations corroborate their testimony, so far as to indicate that island stages anciently existed by which the Atlantic could be crossed, and that some sort of intercourse and exchange existed between the two continents by that route. There were many discoveries

of America before Columbus. From Siberia across Behring's Straits the northern Asiatic immigrated to northern America; skipping along the Pacific isles the adventurous seamen found the south-western American coast; and now it seems clear that the Mediterranean nations could find stepping-stones across the deep to Mexico and adjoining lands. This is found fully confirmed in Mr. Donnelly's chapters entitled the Testimony of the Sea; of the Fauna and Flora; and the Identity of the Civilizations of the Old and New Worlds. The engraved illustrations add greatly to the understanding of the facts and arguments.

The various traditional surmises floating among the Mediterranean nations of a people over the western sea Plato has expanded into a rich fancy-picture given at length in several pages of the present volume. Plato makes Socrates say that the Athenian lawgiver, Solon, some generations back, paid a visit to Egypt, and heard the story from a priest of Sais. The story was that there was a great island in the western ocean, by name Atlantis, the seat of a powerful nation, abounding in luxuriant natural beauties, heightened by the most elaborate art. So powerful did the nation become, about nine thousand years before Solon, that it invaded the eastern continent and spread itself as a powerful empire until it was successfully resisted by the city of Athens. That this picture is a work of imagination, a mere poem founded upon the scattered scraps of tradition, is clear from the fact that it finds no place, or even allusion, on the pages of the great historians of antiquity. No traces of its existence are found in the Egyptological records. Herodotus, the real topic of whose great history is the triumph of Greece, and especially Athens, over Persia and the great East, knows nothing of this similar triumph in earlier ages of the same Athens over Atlantis and the great West. Thucydides, who opens his later history with a survey of the archæology of Greece, has nothing to say of this splendid passage in the story of Athens. Neither the Chaldean tablets nor the Hebrew papyri know any thing of this great Atlantean Empire over the Mediterranean. So that, reducing the luxuriance of the Platonic picture, cutting off especially the glorification of Athens, we have a firm basis only in the plain fact that the eastern continent had anciently some knowledge of the western, and that the Atlantean plateau, and perhaps many other islands, furnished the media of exchange.

Thus far Mr. Donnelly's book is rational and instructive; but

when he proceeds to identify the submersion of Atlantis by volcanic explosion with the Noachic flood, and finds in the plateau. as painted by Plato, the Garden of Eden, and makes the island the locality where man emerged from ape, or sub-ape, into ruddyfaced humanity, we have a preposterous structure of fiction three stories high. The Chaldean and Abrahamic flood is a deluge of rain, with, doubtless, wind, thunder, and water-spout; with not a word of fire, explosion, lava, or cinders; and in this every fragment of tradition in all parts of the world agrees. And that is no Atlantean convulsion. Besides, there is not one particle of historical, chronological, or geographical record that identifies the flood with Atlantis. And this is equally true with regard to the Garden of Eden and the creation of man. Not a syllable of record can be found placing these events in this locality. Our author, in this attempt to transfer the scenes of this primeval history from its native home in the Orient, contradicting all the existing records, has undertaken a job of which he seems not duly to have taken the dimensions. And then his finding the origin of the Phenician alphabet in that of South America is performed by the same process as we use in finding whales and wheelbarrows in the clouds. He has whole chapters drawing imaginary colonies into the various regions of the East from his imaginary Atlantis Empire, all consisting of "the stuff that dreams are made of." While, however, we hold his theories to be manufactured from first-class moonshine, we can at any rate admire the style of sleek and fluent blarney in which they are expressed, and of which Mr. Donnelly's very name is redolent.

Locke. By Thomas Fowler, Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

There is something tranquilizing and elevating in contemplating the history, character, and philosophy of such a man as Locke. His history shows him a man of true loyalty to human freedom, ready to undergo the persecution which it was wisdom to evade. Before his greatness was revealed to the world in his publications it was transparently clear to all his associates, in spite, or rather largely in consequence, of his unassuming simplicity and candor. He, first of all men, framed a well-rounded system of Psychology, drawn from his own independent reflection, yet aided by all the light derivable from his predecessors in philosophy. His unaffected piety shed a glow over his life and so illumined its close that we might suppose that even a philosopher

would be so inspired by its example as to wish to die "the death of the righteous."

Mr. Fowler writes narrative well; but pity on him when, at the close of the biography, he essays to philosophize, and slavers over the system of Locke. Of course he believes in his own sub-monkey ancestry, and thinks that Locke's problems may be best solved by-heredity! Intuitive ideas have grown, forsooth, by a long line of generative descent, drawn down to man from the ascidian and beyond. But Mr. Huxley himself owns that the oldest known geologic man has a head worthy a philosopher; so that the problem was the same in his brain as in the head of And Professor Whitney says that same of the fossil man which he stoutly maintains he has found belonging to several zons earlier. But even grant this wonderful "heredity," how does it solve the problem of the origin and validity of our intuitive thought? We are no more, no less, certain as to their nature, whether they are drawn through a line of ancestry or not. The long line of brains through which they are drawn are thus virtually one time-long brain; and the problem is just where it was.

Hume. By Professor HuxLey. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

This little volume, a member of the Morley series, is interesting, not only as a clear and popular exposition of Hume's philosophy, but as a frank presentation by a distinguished scientist of his own position as a philosopher. The work is done in Mr. Huxley's own fresh, clear, and animated style, now and then enlivened with touches of wit and flashes of sarcasm. Occasionally taking subordinate issues, as becomes an independent critic, he is, on all the leading points of philosophy and theology, the very special ditto of <u>David Hume</u>.

He enumerates and avows six distinctive articles of the Hume faith, or rather unfaith, as follows: 1. Of necessary truth, as distinguished from other truths derived from experience, he denies the existence. Here he goes further than Hume, and with very inconsequent logic maintains that even the truths of geometry take rank with mere facts of repeated observation. 2. The order of nature, he proposes to show, excludes the credibility of miracles. 3. The soul, as being simply a series of thoughts, has no substantive reality; and as being but product of the brain, implies the cessation of thought with the disintegration of the brain, and so

excludes immortality. 4. As to Theism, we have no valid proof of the existence of God. 5. Volitions are necessarily controlled by motive forces, so that the so-called freedom of the will is an inconceivability. Edwards, he thinks, has furnished "a demonstration of the necessarian thesis which has never been equaled in power, and certainly has never been refuted." So that Hume and Edwards are with him the two great masters of his philosophy. 6. Of morals the sole basis is utility. The result is that this exposition of Mr. Huxley's faith shows him a sensualistic, fatalistic, atheistic philosopher of the most unequivocal type.

Seneca and Kant; or, an Exposition of Stoic and Rationalistic Ethics, with a Comparison and Criticism of the Two Systems. By Rev. W. T. Jackson, Ph.D., late Professor of Modern Languages in Indiana University. 12mo, pp. 109. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House. 1881.

Mr. Jackson is a young metaphysician, graduated from the University of Michigan, trained under such masters as Cocker, Frieze, and Morris, and to them this elegant brochure is gratefully dedicated. The work is characterized by rich scholarship, metaphysical acumen, and a fine command of clear, terse English. It presents a vivid view of the cold yet lofty spirit of the stoical and Kantian ethical philosophies, as we'll as their clear inferiority to Christianity by their deep unapplicability to the needs of our humanity. The divine truth of our religion becomes strikingly evinced by this bold comparison with the highest efforts of ancient and modern minds. Let us hear from Mr. Jackson again.

Metaphysics. A Study in First Principles. By Borden P. Bowne, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, and author of "Studies in Theism." 8vo, pp. 534. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

We have but room barely to announce Professor Bowne's volume to our philosophically inclined readers, with the expectation of full notice and review in a future Quarterly.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Life of Edmund S. Janes, D.D., LL.D., late senior Bishop of the Methodist
Episcopal Church. By HERRY B. RIDGAWAY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 428. New York:
Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walter & Stone. 1882. Price \$1.50.

Dr. Ridgaway has furnished one of the most interesting of American Methodist biographies. The character of Bishop Janes has left a pre-eminently pleasing impression upon the memory of the

Church, and this fitting record has given us occasion for a retrospective glance over the scenes and characters of our Church history during the period in which Edmund S. Janes was a prominent figure.

The first time we ever heard his name pronounced was long years agone, on a visit to Washington, about the time when he was Agent for Dickinson College. And he was then named as hero of an incident in the commencement of his agency. He went to the chief city of his mission, Philadelphia, and called the preachers to an interview. When they came, his youthful look, feminine voice, diffident demeanor, and slight, sickly figure, induced them to conclude that he was rather a feeble specimen. erously concluding, however, to made the best of a poor case, they agreed to appoint a public meeting, and proceeded to divide the speech-making among themselves, when at length Janes interposed: "If brethren will be good enough to let me speak for myself I think I can represent the whole case." That sentence was so like him that we seem to remember hearing him utter it. Brethren looked each other in the eve, and tacitly concluded to let him make attempt. Well, he did; he did speak for himself; and he did "represent the whole case;" and brethren never after proposed to do his speaking for him.

In the memorable General Conference of 1844 Janes was elected Bishop mainly by the votes of the departing Southern delegates, and it was hinted, doubtless untruly, that they intended it as a "put upon the North;" at any rate they left few better things behind them. Jefferson, who hated the United States Supreme Court, in filling a vacancy looked for a man whose incompetency would disgrace it, and selected one Joseph Story, the man who in due time showed himself the judicial second to

John Marshall alone.

Elected at the early age of thirty-seven, he grew, in the course of years, into very much of a practical model Bishop. Naturally his mind was not that of a schoolman. He was never meant for a metaphysician. We never rated him highly as a theologian or a logician; but he was, in spite of physical disadvantages, an orator; and he was a masterly executive administrator, a practical Christian statesman. His piety was not, like that of another eminent Bishop, obtrusive, but ingrained, giving a spontaneous amenity to his whole manner, and shaping him to that character of purity, gentleness, and firmness which has recorded upon our memory a sweeter picture than either of the engravings of this volume.

Elected to the Episcopate in the great separative convulsion produced by slavery, his whole career ran through the trying scenes of that long war. The set of Bishops of whom he was a junior member, discharged with quite abundant faithfulness their office as conservators of the unity of the Church, but lost for themselves, and in some degree for the Church, the laurels that belong to the champions of right and freedom. In the division of the Church, a strip of slave-holding territory, technically called "the Border," adhered to the North. That strip was, in more respects than one, dear to the heart of our Church. It was the scene of some of our sweetest historic memories. It retained with faithful sincerity a scrap of genuine antislaveryism, inherited from Asbury. It fought with dashing chivalry for freedom in the fore front of the battle of '44. And there was an attractive gallantry in her representative men. Cookman, and Sargent, and Slicer, and John A. Collins, and young Thomas Sewall, were brilliant magnets. Great then was the triumph that "Old Baltimore" should adhere to the North. But it was a costly adherence. Beyond her own little hereditary antislavery badge, the Border tolerated no opposition to slavery. In due time she came unconsciously to think that her office was to rule down all antislavery utterance in the North. We must ask the Border what we might say. At length it became clear to the younger men of the Church that the Border was simply the slave-holders' overseer over their Northern plantation. While those remarkably able leaders of slavery in the South were pushing their aggressions onward to a complete subjection of us all to their baton, it was the office of the Border to require our silence and submission. They were to hold the patient fast while the surgeon performed the operation. As they lay down in quietude, so we must lie down in profound submission and allow the chivalry to ride over us "booted and spurred by the grace of God." After the Dred Scott decision but one more turn of the judicial screw was necessary to restore bondage over the free States, and make us all one great slave empire. That court had only next to decide that slaves were just as any other property, and that all laws forbidding property to be carried into any State or Territory were unconstitutional and void, and the work was done. That court was capable of just that decision. And the "democracy," then the majority, would have sustained it. For the rest of us, nothing was necessary but silence to secure that consummation; and upon that fatal silence did the Border insist; and we are sorry to add that

that silence our then Episcopacy ratified. In this fatal silence Bishop Janes fully concurred. It would not be right to call him or his colleagues "proslavery," for not one of them but would have greatly preferred the non-existence of that system. But so far as practically co-operating with the great pro-slavery leaders was concerned, by maintaining silence and submission while the movement was in progress, their policy was completely pro-slavery. Had the Church coincided with that policy, and the people of the North with the Church, slavery would by this time have reigned in the North as South, and the slave-gang would at pleasure have marched up Broadway to the slave-market and slave-

pen at Harlem.

The General Conference of 1856 was our crisis. The Church, led by her ministry, had become, in spite of authority, aggressively and irresistibly antislavery, and the Conference was its true representative. The Bishops at start committed themselves, by their Episcopal Address, to the opposition. stood firmly face to face at issue with the Church and with the Conference fresh from its constituency. The majority was not sufficiently large to expel slavery from the Church, but it was able to put most of our periodicals under the editorship of pro-Watson at Chicago, Kingsley at Cincinnati, gressive men. Brooks at St. Louis, Floy over the Magazine, and Wise over Sunday-school department, were faithful sentinels of the Church. And as for our Quarterly, to which the present editor was then first appointed, even Oliver Johnson pronounced him "a true antislavery man." We early announced that our Quarterly was standing on the basis of the Discipline, an "antislavery organ of an antislavery Church." Many a letter from the Border came to our office reprehending our "radical course." The import of our replies usually was, "Brethren, if you must lie down under the ring of the slave-holders' menace, you can do so; but do not ask us to lie down with you. If we stand firm you will finally rise; but if we succumb we will both lie there forever." When our Book Committee met, endowed with full power to remove us, we were arraigned before its bar, and Dr. Tippet, supported by Dr. George Peck and Dr. McClintock, called us to account for "shaking the Discipline at the Baltimore Conference." We promptly replied that we took our stand on that Discipline, and that stand we should maintain, and would hold ourself amenable to the next General Conference. Dr. Wise was similarly arraigned, squarely refused to change his course, and appealed to the General Conference. Their majesties did not dare to meet that issue. One great point was gained: our denominational press was henceforth free. Neither Border, nor Bishops, nor Book Committee, attempted further inquisition.

Of the Episcopal Address of 1856 it appears from the biography Bishop Janes was the writer. Its authorship is not a histor-The biographer, but for the duty of truth, might ical laurel. well have flung it into the shade. We read the paragraphs copiously given from his letters with sober sadness. He has no other solicitude than lest the Border should leave. It seems to us that at that crisis no intelligent man could fail to see the doom of perpetuated slavery hanging over us, sure as destiny, unless we did our fearless duty. As we read we have no doubt that he wrote in earnest accordance with his conscience, but not quite with our conscience. But the gun of Sumter in due time rung the knell of slavery, united all hearts, and solved the fearful problem. It is now clear that it was right well that the Border did not leave us. With Dr. Haygood, we recognize that Hand that solved the problem. Whether our Episcopate of 1856 did rightly or not, a gracious Providence slowly worked out the right result.

Like the Bishop himself the biography has a slight Southern Thus, Dr. Ridgaway tells us (p. 82) that in 1844 our General Conference, by a certain vote, "virtually divided the Church." We believe few sensible men of our Church would say so false a thing. The Conference, in truth, simply passed a vote, in resentment at which Southern Methodism divided from the To lay the responsibility of dividing the Church on Church. the Conference is like the old "Union savers" telling the antislavery men, "If you don't let the subject of slavery alone you will divide the Union." That was putting the fool's cap on the wrong head. The true meaning was that, if you do right somebody else will do wrong. And the antislavery men replied by comparing their accusers to the Yankee justice of the peace who fined Tim Jinkins one dollar "because he made Colonel Winthrop swear so." Of course Tim "virtually" did all the swearing. Of about the same caliber is the quoting the decision of the Supreme Court (p. 83) as settling the historical question that the majority did divide the Church. That, like the Dred Scott decision, was simply a politico-judicial movement, having the temporary compulsory force of law, but utterly unauthoritative as a decision of a point of history. Yet no Northern Methodist now regrets the division of the property.

Proceedings of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference, held in City Road Chapel, London, Sontamber, 1881. Introduction by Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR, M.A. 8vo, pp. 182. Chicianati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Says the "Daily Telegraph" (London): "The idea of a Weslevan Ecumenical Council originated in that natural source of vast designs-the United States." And we may add that our English brethren were at first cold and timid toward the project, fearing lest a "respectable" show could not be made. There had been an insular spell upon their feelings that prevented their contemplating the grandeur of their wide-spread Wesleyan But when the enterprise was pressed upon them by our western enthusiasm they began to kindle. For, vast as our world-wide Methodism has become, it looks with a unanimous filial eye to that illustrious ocean-isle whose career is one of the marvels and glories of human history, and to that one spot that is reckoned the spring of our Methodist history. With what unity did we come to that ancestral home, not, indeed, as subjects of Great Britain, but as natives of that "Greater Britain" that speaks the tongue of Wesley! Cherish, O noble Englanders, a little more genially, that feeling-"sentiment" and "gush" though it be. It is worth more than golden millions. It is an element near akin to the spirit of our Christianity; it may soften the asperity of our politics, Christianize our diplomacy, and prevent the horrors of future war.

Among the varied personal groups that served to justify the term Ecumenical, a special interest invested the presence of our "brothers in black." They spoke our English tongue with a music and oratorical power that showed they were "in their place." It was a great symbol of the future when an Afric-American Bishop presided over the representative body of universal Methodism. It was a great upward step taken, not only for the Hamite race, but for the human race. But as we look over the various record of names our eye discovers a solemn blank. Here are the descendants of Africa; where are the aboriginal sons of America? Why does not the majestic form of our western forester, an American-Indian Bishop, take in turn the Presidential chair? After centuries of our joint occupancy of soil and of our missionary effort among their tribes, what is the result? A vacuity and our shame! Then, again, we have here many an American African; where is the African African? Why no dark-faced Bishop from the "dark continent" in the chair? Let our Afric-American brethren listen to that question. It may be time that they should begin to think of the spiritual welfare of their fatherland. Let our "brothers in black" consider the enterprise as their coming specialty of forming in body for the evangelization of Africa. And let them make haste, for we need a genuine African Bishop of true ebon luster for our next Ecumenical. And what will be the date of that future Ecumenical at which the Asiatic Indian and American Indian shall shake the fraternal hand? So may our great assemblages measure our advances in gathering the races and colorings into the fold of Christ.

The unity of spirit in this body verifies our claim that universal Methodism is one. There were various forms of organization, yet no one claimed a prescriptive right for his own form or played off haughty airs upon the other forms. Doubtless there were varying views of our doctrines that could be put into words, but no one could call the other a heretic. Here is true Church unity, needing no pope to impersonate and without any full creed to formulate. The assemblage was left to "the unity of the spirit," and they had only to discuss great spiritual interests and evangelical measures. They had nothing to do but plan enterprises for making the world better. And that is a mighty and glorious thing to do. Home missions, and church extension, education, including Sunday-schools and theological seminaries, intemperance and all the vices of our modern civilization, the press, perils from papacy and infidelity, the Sabbath, and other kindred topics formed a group of interests as important as Parliament or Congress ever discussed.

It is delightful to count over the different performers in the proceedings, especially where some principal part or some salient stroke appears. The eloquent pen of William Arthur opens with a prefatory statement. Matthew Simpson, not merely as our senior Bishop, but as our prince of preachers, our American Chrysostom, delivered the initial sermon. Venerable Dr. Osborne, the memorable President of our first Ecumenical, gave in eloquent but informal words the welcome, responded to by the piquant Bishop M'Tyeire and our youthful Warren. But space fails us to catalogue the names we would honor and the doings we would register. The various discussions that followed are so full of rich suggestions that the volume has an eminent value, not only as the monumental record of our first Ecumenical, but as a repository of golden thoughts.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXIV.-26

Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1830-1835. Edited by PRINCE RICHARD METTERNICH. The papers classified and arranged by M. A. De Klinkowström. Translated by Gerard W. Smith. Vol. 3; 12mo, pp. xii, 343. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume discloses Metternich struggling to counteract the consequences of the Revolution which drove Charles X. from the throne of France in July, 1830. The ideas which were the soul of that popular movement spread rapidly over the greater part of Europe, begat strong cravings for constitutional liberty in the citizens of many nations, and caused Imperialism to tremble with apprehension. There was insurrection in the Netherlands. Revolutions disturbed the peace of Poland and of Italy. Belgium set up for itself. Greece was in a ferment. The States of the German Confederation were disturbed by mutual jealousies. With all these events Metternich, as the great master-spirit of Imperialism, was called upon to deal. And his confidential letters to the embassadors of Austria at the various courts of Europe, contained in this volume, show how he sought to direct the course of events. They also reveal the haughty contempt with which he regarded liberal political theories, and his proud confidence in the power of Imperialism to resist them would it only unite and put forth its strength. It is amusing to note how he denies the charge that his system was one of repression, by declaring that "we simply follow a system of prevention in order that we may not be compelled to follow one of repression"-that is, he would strangle the aspirations of the people for representative government before they were strong enough to produce overt acts requiring repression. Events, as we now know, revealed the folly of his proud conception, since the Austria he practically governed was even then brooding over the ideas he despised, and preparing itself to successfully demand concessions which included the sudden and unceremonious dismissal of this advocate of Imperialism from the councils of his monarch.

Besides the political letters of Metternich, this volume gives us copious extracts from the diary of the Princess Melanie, his third wife. These extracts give a peculiar charm to the book. They portray the great statesman in the undress of his domestic life, where he is far more attractive than in his chair of office. They also give glimpses of Austrian court-life, its heart-burnings, its petty intrigues, its anxieties, its hopes, and its fears. The princess herself impresses one as a delightful character. She idolized her husband, was tenderly attached to her children, and

was so intellectually strong and cultured as to be qualified to share the great minister's thoughts, and to be his companion, not only in his moments of repose, but in his grave and serious hours and occupations. Her diary is gossipy; but the light it sheds on the events of her times gives it a measure of historical importance.

Nez Perce Joseph. An Account of his Ancestors, his Lands, his Confederates, his Enemies, his Wars, his Pursuit, and Capture. By O. O. Howard, Brig.-Gen. U.S.A. 12mo, pp. 274. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1881.

General Howard, in this interesting volume, evidently without design, shows himself to be a humane soldier and a generous foe. Though a brave and successful soldier, he does not love war, but regards it as one of the sad necessities of national life, to be accepted for none but patriotic and just ends. Hence we find him, in this story of his campaign against the recalcitrant portion of the Nez Perces, admitting and regretting the injustice which has characterized many of our treaty arrangements with the Indians, and much of our management of their affairs on their reservations. Nevertheless he perceives that the advance of our civilization toward the shores the Pacific, when opposed with the rifle and tomahawk of the Indian, must be maintained even at the price of bloodshed on the field of battle. The General strikes the knot of the Indian question when he shows that, while our government concedes an undefined right of occupancy by Indians to large sections of the country, the Indians themselves set up an absolute title to the lands, and to absolute and independent sovereignty. These are irreconcilable principles, and until the Indians are civilized and prepared for citizenship by means of schools and missions, and are dealt with by our government, not as nations, but as individuals, to whom limited grants of land shall be given in fee simple, wars will come. The General has strong faith, founded on his knowledge of accomplished facts, in the power of schools and missionaries to civilize the Indian tribes.

Whoever wishes to gain a clear and correct conception of the nature and difficulties of Indian warfare in our vast Western Territories, and to learn why it is that disciplined white troops find Indian fighting to be something more serious than military pastime, will find interesting and valuable matter in this volume. He may also learn to respect the ability, shrewdness, and energy occasionally apparent in an Indian chief. These qualities were eminently displayed by Joseph, the leader of the Nez Perces, whom Howard fought, and whom he chased over thirteen hun-

dred miles, from Oregon to the Missouri River. The military instincts and strategic skill of that resolute chief were such as even a white soldier might envy. The story of this long, wearisome, exciting pursuit is told in this volume, not in the style of one more accustomed to the pen than the sword, but in a plain, straightforward, sometimes abrupt manner, which never fails to hold the reader's attention. It ought to stimulate the government to provide liberally for the education of the Indians, and the Churches to push missionary work among them with judicious zeal.

The Correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and King Louis XVIII., during the Congress of Vienna, (hitherto unpublished.) From the manuscripts preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Public Affairs at Paris. With a Preface, Observations, and Notes. By M. G. Pallain. New York: Harper Brothers. 1881. 12mo, pp. 312.

Prince Talleyrand, says Carlyle, was "a man living in falsehood; yet not what you call a false man." Thus, in enigmatical phrase, Carlyle sums up his estimate of the most enigmatical character of modern times. It would seem, however, that he who lives in falsehood must himself be false. And this, certainly, is the repuutation which is generally associated with Talleyrand's name. Perhaps his Memoirs, shortly to be published, will modify this severe judgment of his character. Perhaps not. In the work before us he does not look as bad as he is painted elsewhere. Here his diplomacy is open, straightforward, firm, bold, persistent, and pre-eminently sagacious. When he appeared at the Congress of Vienna as the representative of King Louis, France, exhausted by the wars of Napoleon, was lying at the feet of the Allied Powers. Russia and Prussia were bent on enlarging themselves by wholly absorbing some of the lesser powers, and by diminishing the territorial limits of France. To checkmate this purpose Talleyrand insisted, from the beginning of the Congress, that the Powers were bound to maintain the principle of legitimacy, because it was on that principle all their thrones reposed. They were therefore all bound to respect it in dealing with France. The correspondence in this volume shows with what marvelous skill, courage, and tenacity Talleyrand pressed this principle; and how he thereby secured for France the recognition of her right to retain possession of what was indisputably hers in 1789. Whether Talleyrand, who, during the Revolution, had been a pronounced Republican, believed in the principle, or whether he only used it as a weapon with which to fight against the spoliation of his native land, cannot be known. Most assuredly he pressed it with all the earnestness of a genuine patriotism, and made it do essential service for his royal master. The correspondence is profoundly interesting, throwing open, as it does, by its transparent clearness and fullness, the methods of European diplomacy, when, sitting in solemn conclave, it decided grave questions of peace or war, the fate of monarchs, and the destinies of nations. If these letters are not history, they are at least very valuable materials for future historians.

Four Centuries of English Letters. Selections from the Correspondence of One Hundred and Fifty Writers, from the period of the Poston Letters to the Present Day. Edited and arranged by W. BAPTISTE SCOONES. 12mo, pp. xix, 573. New York: Harper Brothers.

In offering this volume to the public the compiler no doubt recognized the fact that one's interest in old letters depends as much on the eminence of their writers as on their intrinsic value. Boswell, the prince of biographers, put this point well to Dr. Johnson one day, when that much-admired man, objecting to the fashion of publishing letters, said that to avoid the publication of his own letters he put as little into them as he could. To which Boswell replied, with his accustomed flattery, "Do what you will, sir, you cannot avoid it. Should you even write as ill as you can, your letters would be published as curiosities.

"'Behold a miracle! instead of wit, See two dull lines by Stanhope's pencil writ."

But in compiling this volume Mr. Scoones has not made his selections exclusively on the ground that the writers were eminent in Church or State, in the social or literary world; but, as he tells us, with the higher design of making his work "rich with some of the best and brightest flowers of epistolary literature." As was inevitable, notwithstanding his purpose not to include letters which were below a fair standard of "literary excellence," they are of unequal interest and value. Some of them, though not many, perhaps, a rigid critic would reject as unimportant or in bad taste. Yet, taken as a whole, they fairly fill the compiler's ideal of "a collection of English letters suitable alike for the purposes of instruction and recreation." The volume is certainly very entertaining in that it brings the intelligent reader face to face and into pleasing familiarity with a multitude of distinguished minds whose names and deeds he is accustomed to associate, favorably or otherwise, with the literature and history

of England during the last four hundred years. If he be well read in English history it may not add much to his knowledge, but it will refresh his mind and revive his interest in many of his favorite historical characters. If he be a novice in the history and literature of the period it covers, it will instruct as well as amuse him, especially by means of the compact historical and biographical notes prefixed to the letters. These notes are fine examples of condensation, giving much pertinent information in few words. They add materially to the value of the book.

People's Cyclopedia of Universal Knowledge. With numerous Appendixes invaluable for Reference in all Departments of Industrial Life. The whole brought down to the year 1882. With the Pronunciation and Orthography conformed to Webster's Unabridged Dictionary. Illustrated with numerous colored maps and over Three Thourand Engravings. By W. H. Dr. Pux, A.M., D.D., for fifteen years Associate Editor of "The Christian Advocate" at New York; author of "Compendium of Popular Information," etc. Large 8vo, vol. 1, pp. 1022; vol. 2, pp. 1058. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

These two fine cyclopedic octavos are intended to fit into a popular demand. They are based on the great works of Chambers and the Britannica, but, compressed in size and reduced in price, become suitable for popular use and general circulation. Valuable original contributions are furnished by such writers as Judge Fancher, Bishops Hurst, Harris, and Andrews, by Drs. Warren, Curry, Fowler, Buckley, Winchell, and Haygood. The engraved illustrations are very numerous, and they do illustrate and exemplify. The maps are abundant and excellent. Dr. De Puy has accomplished a noble work worthy a wide acceptance.

Miscellaneous.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The text revised by BROOKE Foss Westcott, D.D., Canon of Peterborough and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge and Fenton, John Anthony Hort, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Introduction and Appendix by the Editors. With appendix, pp. 188. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

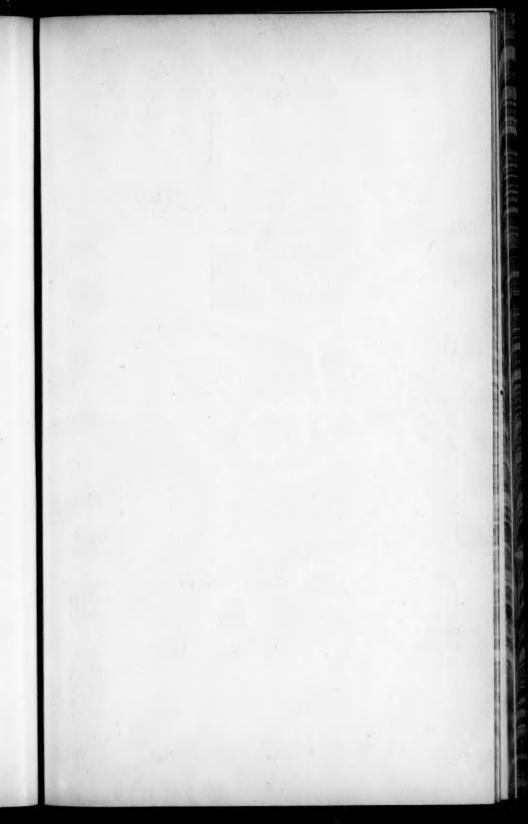
The Westcott and Hort Greek Testament was issued before this by the Harpers, and noticed in our last Quarterly. This volume is their "Introduction" to it, consisting of a very exhaustive treatment of textual science.

The Making of England. By John Richard Green, M.A., LL.D., author of "History of the English People," "Short History of the English People," "Stray Studies from England and Italy," etc. 4to, pp. 64. New York: Harper & Brothers.

- The Making of England. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, author of "History of the English People," "Short History of the English People," etc. With Maps. 8vo, pp. 434. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- The Revelation of the Risen Lord. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, Canon of Peterborough, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 12mo, pp. 199. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1881.
- The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version, (A.D. 1611,) with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter, late preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Testament, Vol. IV, Hebrews, The Revelation of St. John. 8vo, pp. 844. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- The Principles of Church Polity, Illustrated by an Analysis of modern Congregationalism and applied to certain important practical questions in the Government of Christian Churches. Southworth Lectures, delivered at Andover Theological Seminary in the years 1879-81. By George T. Ladd, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Yale College. 12mo, pp. 433. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.
- Ecce Spiritus. A Statement of the Spiritual Principle of Jesus as the Law of Life.8vo, pp. 238. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1881.
- Studies in the Gospel according to St. Matthew. By Rev. J. CYNDDYLAN JONES, author of "Studies in the Acts." Second Edition. 12mo, pp. 320. Toronto: William Briggs.
- Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1881. January, 1882. 8vo, pp. 333. New York: Printed for the Society, 805 Broadway.
- Proceedings of the New England Methodist Historical Society at the Second Annual Meeting, January 16, 1882. 8vo, pp. 32. Boston: Society's Rooms, 36 Brom. field-street. 1882.
- The World's Foundations; or, Geology for Beginners. By AGNES GIBERNE, author of "Sun, Moon, and Stars," etc. 12mo, pp. 322. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1882.
- The Guiding Hand; or, Providential Direction. Illustrated by authentic instances, recorded and collected. By H. L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." 12mo, pp. 382. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository, H. L. Hastings. 1881.
- Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude. By Joh. Ed. Huther, Th.D., pastor at Wittenförden, Schwerin. 8vo, pp. 440. New York: Scribner & Welford.
- Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, Th.D. The Pastoral Epistles by Dr. J. E. Huther. 8vo, pp. 879. New York: Scribner & Welford.
- A History of Christian Doctrines. By the late Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology at Basel. Translated from the fifth and last German edition, with additions from other sources. With an Introduction by E. H. PLUMPTER, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 446. New York: Scribner & Welford.
- The Chautauquan, March, 1882. A Monthly Magazine devoted to the Promotion of True Culture, Organ of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle.

 Theodore L. Flood, D.D., Editor. 8vo. Meadville, Pa.: The Chautauqua Press. Price 20 cents.
- Love the Debt. A Novel. By BASIL 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Hesperothen: Notes from the West. A Record of a Ramble in the United States and Canada in the Spring and Summer of 1881. By WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL.D. 8vo. pp. 62. New York: Harper & Brothers.

- Among the Ruins, and Other Stories. By Mary Cecil Hay, author of "Old Middleton's Money," "The Squire's Legacy," "Reaping the Whirlwind," "Victor and Vanquished," etc. 8vo, pp. 34. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- The Constitutional History of England from 1760-1860. By Charles Duke Yonge, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Queen's College, Belfast, author of the "Life of Marie Antoinette," and editor of "Yonge's English Greek Lexicon," etc. 8vo, pp. 116. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Civil Service in Great Britain. A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearing upon American Politics. By DORMAN B. EATON. 8vo, pp. 82. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Chautauqua Library of English History and Literature. Vol. III. The Wars of the Roses. 8vo, pp. 140. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881.
- An Introduction to the History of Educational Theories. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., Senior Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge, and sometime Assistant-Master at Eton College. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- French History for English Children. By Sarah Brooks. Revised and Edited by George Cary Eggleston. With Illustrations and Maps. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- Heroes of Holland. The Founders and Defenders of the Dutch Republic. By Charles K. True, D.D., author of "Elements of Logic," "John Winthrop and the Great Colony," "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," etc. 12mo, pp. 281. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe, New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.
- Old Greek Education. By J. P. Mahaffy, M.A., Fellow and Tutor in Trinity College, Dublin, Knight of the Order of the Saviour, Author of "Social Life in Greece," "A History of Greek Literature," "A Primer of Greek Antiquities," etc. 12mo, pp. 144. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- The International Revision Commentary on the New Testament. Based upon the Revised Version of 1881. By English and American scholars and members of the Revised Committee. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Union Theological Seminary of New York, President of the American Committee on Revision. Vol. II. The Gospel According to Mark. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.
- The Mendelssolm Family, (1729-1847.) From Letters and Journals. By Sebastian Hensel. With eight portraits from drawings by Wilhelm Hensel. Second revised edition. Translated by Carl Klingemann and an American Collaborator. With a notice by George Grove, Esq., D.C.L. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. 340. Vol. II, pp. 359. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- Great Movements and Those who Achieved Them. By Henry J. Nicoll., author of "Great Orators," "Life of Carlyle," etc. With thirteen portraits. 12mo, pp. 487. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- De Quincey. By DAVID MASSON. 12mo, pp. 198. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- Shakspeare's Comedy of the Merry Wives of Windsor. Edited, with notes, by William J. Rolfe, A.M., formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass., with engravings. 12mo, pp. 173. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.
- The Four Macnicols. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of "White Wings," "Macleod of Dare," "A Princess of Thule," "Sunrise," "A Daughter of Heth," "Madcap Violet," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 117. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.



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